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# "Walking the Queen's highway": ideology and cultural landscape in Nothern Ireland

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“WALKING THE QUEEN’S HIGHWAY”:  
IDEOLOGY AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPE  
IN NORTHERN IRELAND

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the  
Louisiana State University and  
Agricultural and Mechanical College  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Geography and Anthropology

by  
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But thus shall ye deal with them;  
ye shall destroy their altars  
and break down their images  
and cut down their groves  
and burn their graven images with fire.

Deuteronomy 7:5

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## LIST OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Nationalist	The segment of the population that seeks British withdrawal from Northern Ireland.
Unionist	The segment of the population that seeks continued unity with Great Britain.
Republican	Nationalists who seek a united Ireland, free of British rule, and may use armed force to achieve their aims.
Loyalist	The segment of the population that considers Ulster to be separate from Britain, yet have some allegiance to Britain, and may use armed force to achieve political aims.
RUC	Royal Ulster Constabulary – Northern Ireland Police Force (Majority membership Protestant)
UVF	Ulster Volunteer Force – Paramilitary Organization (Loyalist)
UDA	Ulster Defense Association – Paramilitary Organization (Loyalist)
UFF	Ulster Freedom Fighters – Paramilitary Organization (Loyalist)
IRA	Irish Republican Army – Paramilitary Organization (Republican)
PIRA	Provisional Irish Republican Army – Paramilitary Organization (Republican)
INLA	Irish National Liberation Army – Paramilitary Organization (Republican)
GRRC	Garvaghy Road Resident’s Coalition (Nationalist)
Orange Order	Protestant Loyal Order (Affiliated Orders: Royal Black Preceptories and Apprentice Boys)
Craic (Gaelic)	A good time
Touts (Slang)	Informers
Óglach (Gaelic)	Volunteers
Féinian	From the Gaelic prefix féin- meaning ‘self’. Used to describe someone as a Republican sympathizer.

## ABSTRACT

The use of public art and ritual in Northern Ireland leads to the creation of cultural landscapes heavy with symbolism – ideological landscapes – that maintain social divisions and incite conflict. Mural and curbstone painting, flag bearing, the construction of memorials, and parading are activities that inscribe messages in the landscape. This study documents the types of symbolism prevalent in Northern Irish landscapes, the meanings attributed to them, and the reactions and subsequent cultural landscape re-creations that result.

Loyalist and nationalist marches that incite riots and civil disorder have disrupted and delayed peace efforts in Northern Ireland for decades. Both loyalists and nationalists parade, but it is the annual marching season of the loyalist fraternal orders through nationalist neighborhoods that, in some cases, result in chronic violence. Nationalist residents attempt to forestall and combat loyalist parades through their neighborhoods, while loyalists insist on their “right to walk the Queen’s highway” within the “Queen’s domain.” Loyalists claim that the nationalists misunderstand their intentions, and that their parades celebrate their culture and not their cultural domination, thereby being a rightful expression of their civil liberties.

This study compares two communities in relation to their July Loyalist parading events. In Coleraine, the twelfth holiday is conducted peacefully each year, while in Portadown, the July parade results in contention and violence. A landscape analysis was conducted in each community, with particular attention paid to symbolism and the loyalist July parade. The two parades in question appear to celebrate the same historical moment, contain the same symbolism, and follow the same traditions, yet each community responds to their parade differently. This landscape analysis is supplemented by ethnographic data from each community to determine

how their respective parade events evolved, and how each community negotiates sectarian and political conflict.

Residents create ideological landscapes that divide Northern Ireland into two distinct communities – Protestant/unionist/loyalist and Catholic/nationalist/republican. This ideological landscape reinforces that division, by creating spatial separations, and reminding residents of their history, loyalties, and goals. Residents read and interpret these messages, and negotiate and recreate divided ideological landscapes. This landscape perpetuates socio-cultural divisions, making the attainment of peace more difficult.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

11 July 1997, Coleraine, Northern Ireland

Gloria woke me early to go down to the bar. When I balked at the idea, I was sternly ordered to get my “arse” out of the bed. The twelfth holiday begins today, she informed me, and Kenny was already there awaiting us. He wasn’t. I don’t drink much, which occasionally makes Northern Ireland a difficult place for me as an ethnographer, but I went along anyway.

By noon I was fed up with refusing to pour yet another drink into my empty stomach. Gloria was fed up with my so called “cheeky bitch” lack of enthusiasm for the festivities, and sat me at a distant corner table with Kieran, who she feels is a “bad bugger”. She and her friend grumbled and glared at me for some time as I sat in the corner. (Later she scolded me for talking with him too long.)

We spent the entire day and evening at the bar, ordering in fish-and-chips at my insistence. By evening, myself and, perhaps the bartenders, were the only sober persons in a crowded rowdy bar. Resigned to the revelry, I waited them out, sipping slowly. Gloria had disappeared with friends to visit another bar, and when Kenny had finally had enough, I walked him home. The streets were lively with people spilling out of bars and hanging ‘round the street corners and the town diamond, yet there was no trouble as all seemed festive and friendly.

I had informed the bartender that I would return for Gloria, so return I did. I found the bar even more crowded, and Gloria precariously perched on a stool leading the patrons in rousing renditions of loyalist paramilitary tunes on her flute (that she had dug out of Kenny’s hiding place earlier that morning.) Gone was her previous anger with me, as she hugged me and offered

to play me her favorite tune – the one that reminds her of her daddy -- even though I was  
“nothin’ but a féinian bastard” (myself having a Catholic father).

### The Sash My Father Wore

Sure I’m an Ulster Orangeman,  
From Erin’s Isle I came,  
To see my British brethren  
All of honor and of fame,  
And to tell them of my forefathers  
Who fought in days of yore,  
That I might have the right to wear,  
The sash my father wore!

[Chorus]

It is old, but it is beautiful,  
And its colors they are fine  
It was worn at Derry, Aughrim,  
Enniskillen and the Boyne.  
My father wore it as a youth  
In bygone days of yore  
And on the Twelfth I love to wear  
The sash my father wore.

For those brave men who crossed the Boyne  
Have not fought or died in vain  
Our unity, Religion, Laws, and Freedom to maintain,  
If the call should come we’ll follow the drum,  
And cross that river once more  
That tomorrow’s Ulsterman may wear  
The sash my father wore!

[Chorus]

And when some day, across the sea  
To Antrim’s shore you come,  
We’ll welcome you in royal style,  
To the sound of flute and drum  
And Ulster’s hills shall echo still,  
From Rathlin to Dromore  
As we sing again the loyal strain  
Of the sash my father wore!

[Chorus]

We, as well as several other patrons, had to be thrown out of the bar as closing time came and went. The walk home at this late hour was somewhat different than my earlier walk had been. The going was slow, as Gloria was full (of drink), and we had to detour twice to avoid confrontations between groups of women on the street. Gloria would have gladly joined in. She was fixing for a fight by this time, and I, though practically carrying her, would do as well as any other, for I was a “cunt” and a “cheeky bitch ...mumble mumble...fuck the Pope, féinian bastard!”

Kenny had warned me days previously that Gloria’s “blood turns Orange” on the twelfth (which is why he hides her flute every year). I now understand what he meant!

\* \* \*

For over thirty years loyalists and nationalists have been engaged in violent conflict over Great Britain’s claim to Northern Ireland, resulting in over 3200 deaths (Sutton 1994) and numerous injuries. This conflict has taken many forms, including physical force through paramilitary organizations such as the loyalist Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) or the nationalist Irish Republican Army (IRA); or through visual protest, as in the display of flags, memorials, and painting curbstones and murals; public community oriented protest; and parades. Parading, mural and curbstone painting, and flag displays are popular throughout Northern Ireland for both nationalist and loyalist groups.

Loyalist and nationalist marches that incite riots and civil disorder have disrupted and delayed peace efforts in Northern Ireland for decades. Both loyalists and nationalists parade, but it is the annual marching season of the loyalist fraternal orders through nationalist neighborhoods that, in some cases, has fostered chronic violence. Nationalist residents attempt to forestall and

combat loyalist parades through their neighborhoods, while loyalists insist on their "right to walk the Queen's Highway" within "the Queen's Domain." Loyalists claim that the nationalists misunderstand their intentions, and that their parades celebrate their culture and not their cultural domination, thereby being a rightful expression of their civil liberties.

Table 1.1. Total Number of Parades in Northern Ireland, 1985-1995 (Jarman 1997, p.119)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Loyalist</u>	<u>Republican</u>
1985	2120	1897	223
1986	1950	1731	219
1987	2112	1863	249
1988	2055	1865	190
1989	2317	2099	218
1990	2713	2467	246
1991	2379	2183	196
1992	2744	2498	246
1993	2662	2411	251
1994	2792	2520	272
1995	2883	2581	302

The Orange Order, which celebrates the 1689-90 victory of Protestant William, Prince of Orange over the Catholic King James II, was created in 1795 in Portadown, Northern Ireland (Jarman 1997). Each year in July members of the Orange Order attempt to march from Drumcree church and through a Catholic neighborhood along the Garvaghy road. Each year nationalists clash with Orange marchers at this location, occasionally with fatal consequences. The ‘Siege at Drumcree Creek’ that began on July 5, 1998 as Orange marchers were ordered to reroute their parade away from Catholic Garvaghy road, is indicative of situations in contentious parts of Northern Ireland. The Orange Order refused to reroute, stating that they intended to hold vigil on the Drumcree church hillside until they were permitted to “walk the Queen’s highway” (NYT 7/19/98, p. A1 and A9). The violence which followed this decision, including rioting and bomb blasts, lasted for ten days. Up to 100,000 more loyalists were expected to join in the standoff, until the firebomb deaths of three Catholic boys brought the siege to a standstill.



The violent Orange celebration at Drumcree, as well as those in Derry, Belfast, and other contentious areas, contrast with numerous peaceful celebrations that take place throughout Northern Ireland. This research project compares loyalist parading events in two communities: In Coleraine the twelfth holiday passes peacefully each year, while in Portadown there is annual violence. For each community I examine the parading landscape: parade routing through neighborhoods; displays of political symbolism along the route and within the parade; participant, spectator, and protestor behavior; and security presence. This landscape analysis is supplemented by ethnographic data from each community to determine how their respective parade events evolved, and how they traverse and experience their respective cultural landscapes. The purpose of this project is to discover the pertinent differences between two communities, which would account for the one having an annually contentious parade, while the other has an annual parade that is peaceful. The two parades in question appear to celebrate the same historical moment, contain the same symbolism, and follow the same traditions. Yet the response of each respective community is very much different. In the end, the question asked throughout this research project is this: Is it possible for a town such as Portadown, with a history of parade related violence, to have peaceful parade events in the future?

Individuals empower themselves collectively by constructing places that contain an investment of material and symbolic culture (Harvey 1991). Public art is created in order to engage individuals by enhancing the social meaning of a place (Hayden 1997), and in Northern Ireland, this cultural construction of place is highly political; murals, for example, help define a community's cultural identity by investing symbolic meaning in space, and thereby staking out territory within the urban landscape. These symbolic messages are then interpreted and physically and emotionally reacted upon by citizens, resulting in a recreation of symbolic

cultural landscape. The following section describes the ways in which this dialogue between cultural landscape and creator is maintained, and how we may interpret meaning within this dialogue.

### Culture and Landscape Ideology

Williams (1945) offers a definition of culture that is useful for my examination of peaceful and violent expressions in Northern Ireland: that culture is both human behavior and activity (scientific definition) and proselytizing action (political definition), in which groups of people develop similar attitudes and learn to behave in similar ways by imitation, instruction, and example. Membership in a culture group provides communal identity, a sense of shared purpose, and empowerment to individuals who may share similar needs and wants, but who may feel powerless to satisfy these needs and wants as individuals. Individuals are also free thinkers, able to act independently. Culture, as Geertz (1973) describes it, represents a context for action, and the study of it “an interpretive [analysis] in search of meaning (p.5).”

Carl O. Sauer’s classic definition of a morphological cultural landscape has some usefulness:

The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, and the cultural landscape is the result. Under the influence of a given culture, itself changing through time, the landscape undergoes development, passing through phases, and probably reaching the end of its cycle of development. With the introduction of a different -- that is, alien -- culture, a rejuvenation of the cultural landscape sets in, or a new landscape is superimposed on the remnants of an older one (1925, pp.315-350).

Sauer's Berkeley-School cultural geography, and his 1929 monograph titled "The Morphology of Landscape" greatly influenced the growth and character of American landscape geography (for example, Kniffen 1936; Jackson 1984). In general, American cultural geographers (for example,

Turner 1990) have refined Sauer's morphological method so as to (1) observe, describe, and explain existing landscapes; (2) reconstruct past landscapes; and (3) to study landscape change through time.

The morphological method encourages cultural geographers to discern ideology embodied in the built environment. In addition, the systematic study of landscape formation is useful for discovering how ideology intentionally elaborates architectural designs and settlement patterns into a provocative or peaceful cultural landscape that may be either (whichever the ideologues and planners prefer).

Both culture and landscape provide contexts for human activity. Culture groups inhabiting the same or overlapping landscapes may vie for the allegiance of individuals; groups become empowered. Inequities in power arise between groups competing for scarce resources, such as money, values, and space. Less powerful groups are threatened by the actual or potential abuse of power of the dominant group. In some cases, dominant groups can go so far as to persecute the less powerful groups, a process that typically begins with stereotyping, and escalating continuously to prejudice, discrimination, aggression, and ultimately to conflict. Cultural geographers may choose to investigate the competition (or contest) between culture groups as it is manifested in the material and symbolic landscapes (Eyles 1989; Cosgrove 1983).

In the case of Northern Ireland, marching and mural painting are primary resources for conveying meaning. Meaning is both elusive and ubiquitous as a commodity in the urban environment. The struggle to impose meaning upon the landscape is a struggle for power, control, history and place. Lefebvre (1991) stresses the importance of space in shaping societies; limiting a group's access to space is to limit their economic and political rights. In addition, he proposed understanding urban space as simultaneously conceived (abstract) and perceived

(concrete) geographies. The material landscape produces and concretizes the individual and collective experiences (or spatial practices) of everyday life, and mediates the juncture between planned (dominant culture) and lived (local culture) (Merrifield 1993; McCann 1999).

Within the context of this project, the specific spatial practices of residents of two towns in Northern Ireland provide symbolic cues to geographies of everyday life there, and to struggles between and within groups for recognition and autonomy. Murals, parade banners and other forms of artwork, reveal the experiential and contested ideologies of the community through the reiterative process of artist (author) and interpretation (audience) (Jarman 1997; Rolston 1991). Communities in Northern Ireland create cultural landscapes that limit access to space: Murals that contain cultural symbolism map out territory for a particular group; Parades, though temporary, define cultural identity in spatial terms by mapping symbolically (historically) important routes within the cultural landscape, which then “trigger potent memories” (Hayden 1997 p.78).

A useful approach to the complexity of cultural markings of place is to understand landscape as text (Foote 1994). Foote credits the Berkeley-trained geographer David Sopher for having originated the project of deciphering the palimpsest of the cultural landscape. Sopher's students developed the process of landscape decipherment in two directions: 1) reading (or deconstructing) the landscape as a text (Duncan 1973), and 2) interpreting (empirical) the landscape as a form of communication (Hugill 1975). In general, there has been "disagreement over the appropriate methods for exploring symbolism and meaning in cultural landscape" (Foote 1994, p. 295). Foote describes a variety of methods that geographers have used, ranging from Lewis' (1979) explicitly positivist methods of reading the landscape in empirical ‘shorthand’ to an array of innovative methods (mostly borrowed from the humanities), including

those that attempt to reframe landscape interpretation in terms of textual analysis (Duncan and Duncan 1988; Duncan 1990), iconographic theory (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988), nonverbal communication (Hugill 1975; Rapoport 1982), and semiotic theory (Duncan 1990).

The work described by Foote represents the structuralist attempt to find meaning in landscape beyond the established procedures of normal science in geography. In addition, there have been many post-structuralist approaches in geography (see, for example, Entrikin 1991; Harvey 1989; Shields 1991; Soja 1989) that involve deconstructing landscapes and spatial arrangements into their component elements in order to discover the basic mechanisms through which social and economic power is exerted. For example, Harvey (1989) discusses the development of large financial centers and exclusive communities as spatial arrangements of power. Such landscapes reflect economic might or advantage, and become symbols of power and prestige, while denying access to the less advantaged. Foucault (1977) describes the landscapes of the powerless in his discourse on surveillance and prisons, and asks: “is it surprising that prisons resemble factories, schools, barracks, hospitals, which all resemble prisons?” (p228). In essence, each of the places that Foucault describes consists of strict spatial partitioning, controlled movements, fixing an individual in space, and surveillance, observation and recording by those with power and authority. Thus, humans attempt to manipulate one another by controlling spaces.

Textual, structuralist, and post-structuralist approaches all seek to discover and explain landscape ideology. One useful definition of ideology is as a system of signs, which ease the undertaking of individual or collective interests, and maintains power relations (Thompson 1981; 1984). Landscape ideology involves visual images engraved with power within the landscape (Johnston, Gregory, & Smith 1994). Geertz (1973) points out that ideology is elusive, and

accounts of ideology may be vague, since it is essentially symbolic, and carries emotional charge as well.

The perceptible outcomes of the agency of political culture in cultural landscape formation are its architectures of ideology. A culture group's worldview is embodied in its interaction with landscape, and hence the built environment provides cues for behavior and non-verbal communication (Rapoport 1982). Objects in the built environment such as roads, churches, monuments, which promote movement, values, and remembrance respectively, can all be understood as mnemonic and didactic devices (Nemeth 1987). In contested spaces, competing culture groups, like the Nationalists and Loyalists in Northern Ireland, strengthen and legitimize themselves and their efforts by investing the landscape with their own adaptive cultural ideology (Nemeth 1987; McCann 1999). Actions in and modifications of the landscape -- as rite and as physical construction -- serve as symbolic systems for the retention of group history and ideals. In an unequal bicultural landscape, the dominant ideology entrenches itself in an unambiguous landscape as a statement and enduring reminder of who won, or who is in charge. For the situation examined here, loyalists and nationalists in Northern Ireland share a common political culture that intentionally invests cultural landscape with contentious ideological messages.

Planned urban areas not only proclaim; they also proselytize. As public spaces and architecture are invested with cultural ideology, they shape the behavior of the inhabitants, and can be powerful means of ideological education (Nemeth, Aryeetey, & Muraco 1992). In urban United States, the expansion of public housing provides a striking example. The Pruitt-Igoe (St. Louis, MO) and Cabrini Green (Chicago, IL) housing developments demonstrate that planned space is not the same as and cannot be equated with lived space. Despite the scientifically planned orderliness of these developments, the material and symbolic conditions of their African

American inhabitants could not and did not correspond to the ideals embodied within the physical landscape (Whitaker 2000). These planned communities failed because the realities and spatial practices of everyday life (for example, segregation, racism and other socioeconomic-spatial concerns) barred residents from realizing their dreams, and from enacting their ideologies. Consequently, the structural imperatives of United States society resulted in a lived experience within public housing that replicated the very segregated, enclosed, anonymous, and expressionless ghettos they intended to replace. The cumulative failures of Pruitt-Igoe and other projects, according to Jencks (1984), the postmodern architect, reflect the uncertain and fragmented conditions of postmodernity in the urban landscape (Appignanesi & Garratt 1995).

Current public planning measures in Northern Ireland take contradictory approaches, tending to either promote desegregation and the removal of physical boundaries, or to maintain these separations; both approaches propose to be ways to reduce conflict (Boal 1995; Bollens 1998). Other policies are based on the assumption that reducing inequality in access to landscape resources, such as housing, will bring an end to conflict (Birrell 1994). While measures that ensure equality between competing groups do, of course, reduce tensions between opposing groups, such as with Northern Ireland, the tensions nonetheless remain unresolved. A provocative cultural landscape can promote resolution of conflict rather than its perpetuation only if plural ideologies are equitably represented.

Addressing another site of spatial/cultural conflict, Nemeth, Aryeetey-Attoh, and Muraco (1992) discuss the need for a multicultural university campus environment and tactics for its successful implementation. One tactic in particular, that of triangulation, can be usefully applied to the situation in Northern Ireland. Triangulation is a process where a stimulus in the external physical landscape provides an opportunity for linkage between people, such as prompting

strangers to talk to strangers as if they knew each other. A community project in Belfast, Northern Ireland during the summer of 1999 exemplified triangulation; it brought young people together to paint a mural that would reflect the sentiments of both factions without insulting either. In this case, however, the mural was a temporary piece, and the effort did not receive multilateral community support or interest. Nevertheless, the mural project provided an opportunity for the educational aspect of the built environment to be used in a positive way, to promote triangulation and mutual respect between groups instead of competition.

The Vietnam War memorial in Washington, D.C. is a good example of such an effort that was successful: the public participated (through a design competition and open discussion) in developing the monument that has become an icon of both remembrance and healing. Over the years, this memorial has become one of the most revered and appreciated public memorials in the United States (<http://www.nps.gov/vive/legacy.html>; Richardson 2003). While there are memorials in Northern Ireland that are revered by all, others are erected to remind citizens of internal social conflict and division. The memorial pictured in Figure 1.1 was erected in commemoration of those who died during the two world wars. This memorial contains the names of locals who died in armed service, and is located in an accessible and prominent position in the town diamond, in the Coleraine Town Centre. Figure 1.2 shows a memorial that was erected in honor of Belfast, New Lodge residents who were killed, as inscribed on the monument, during the “continuing struggle for democracy.” Unlike the Coleraine war memorial, this one is located on a side street within the New Lodge neighborhood, and is accessible only to local residents. The memories evoked by this memorial are place specific (New Lodge, Belfast), and personal to residents of that place (thus the leaving of flowers). Furthermore, the memorial helps to create a territory within the city





Figure 1.1: Memorial commemorating World Wars I and II, Coleraine.



Figure 1.2: New Lodge memorial, Belfast.

of Belfast, in which the New Lodge community situates itself within the larger divided society. Which brings us to the concept of cultural landscapes as marked territories.

Gold (1982, p. 44) defines human territoriality as "the processes and mechanisms by which people establish, maintain, and defend territories." The contemporary cultural landscape in Northern Ireland closely resembles that of youth gang landscapes in U.S. inner cities. Upon entering a neighborhood in a Northern Ireland city, one is rarely unsure about the affiliation of it's occupants. Although some are mixed, most neighborhoods are either orange or green. Murals painted by organized neighborhood youth groups adorn walls and buildings within neighborhoods and along the peripheries (Figures 1.3-1.7). Graffiti on the same public surfaces announces to outsiders, as well as to locals, where they are, and provides instruction about how they are expected to behave. For example, a building in Derry's Nationalist Bogside area contained graffiti that warns; "Touts [informers] will be Got" (Figure 1.8). Loyalist communities may have curbstones painted red, white and blue in the fashion of the British flag. Flags are flown in front of many homes and establishments showing allegiance to either Britain or the Republic of Ireland. Memorials and buildings such as churches, Orange Order halls, and community centers -- all are part of the orange and green divided landscape.

There are many other indicators of troubles in the landscape. Throughout Northern Ireland are signs of urban decay that indexes social inequity (Figure 1.7). Blast ruins and abandoned properties abound, walls are erected between warring neighborhoods, and barricades block city centers and other thoroughways (Figure 1.8). Rubble, barbed wire, tanks, and the soldiers themselves serve as constant reminders of the Irish problem (Figures 1.11, 1.12 and 1.15-1.17). These markers are particularly concentrated at the boundaries or borders of territories



Figure 1.3: 1993 Mural containing portrait of person killed by plastic bullets in Derry's Bogside (Gatrell and Keirsey 2001).



Figure 1.4: Famine mural, nationalist Belfast, 1997 (Gatrell and Keirsey 2001).





Figure 1.5: 1916 Easter Rising mural, nationalist Belfast, 1997 (Gatrell and Keirsey 2001).



Figure 1.6: Republican mural, Belfast, 1997 (Gatrell and Keirsey 2001).



Figure 1.7: Battle of the Boyne and Loyalist murals, Belfast, 1997 (Gatrell and Keirseay 2001).





Figure 1.8: Republican graffiti, Derry, 1993.

(Figures 1.13 and 1.14). However, there are also places in Northern Ireland where territorial markings are absent in the landscape. Furthermore, these places tend to be relatively peaceful (Figure 1.16).

Peace studies have not helped achieve peace in Northern Ireland. The approach of forgiveness studies is new, and has the potential for success, yet thus far it has been mostly advanced by academics in religion and in psychology (de Waal 1998). They argue that "for forgiveness to happen, the offending act must be past, " and that the adversaries must "choose not to harbor resentments for healing to occur" (Heller 1998, p. 18-20). What these academics have not considered thus far is that national forgiveness cannot occur as long as there are ideological differences embedded in the cultural landscape that continue to trigger future hostilities.

The symbolic messages constructed into the urban Northern Ireland landscape reproduce violent attitudes between warring communities. Verbal messages are also passed between the two communities, but visual displays organized and constructed by members of the community, representing its cultural and historical traditions and attitudes, are much more concrete, and correspondingly more powerful.

Hundreds of texts have been written about Ireland, but this survey will address only those that pertain to this project. Several historical texts and articles contain a chronology of social and political events for given time periods (Jackson 1999; O'Keefe 1992; de Baroid 1990; Gallagher 1982), and others explore various interpretations and reinterpretations of Irish history (Watson 1991; Boyce and O'Day 1996; 2001; Stewart 1997; Fitzpatrick 1998). Social scientists have examined the Irish question from numerous angles, looking for clues that might lead to resolving the current political strife in Northern Ireland (Coogan 1996; Biagini 1996; O'Tuathail 1996;



Figure 1.9: Nationalist housing, New Lodge, North Belfast, 1995.



Figure 1.10: New Lodge roadblock erected each evening by local boys, Belfast, 1995.





Figure 1.11: RUC at nationalist demonstration in Belfast City Centre, 1995.



Figure 1.12: British soldier, Falls Road area, Belfast, 1993.



Figure 1.13: Border checkpoint, 1993.





Figure 1.14: Border security, 1993.





Figure 1.15: RUC and British soldiers, Bogside, Derry, 1993.



Figure 1.16: British Army Barracks, border region, Counties Monaghan and Armagh, 1993.



Figure 1.17: British Army Barracks, New Lodge, Belfast, 1995.



Figure 1.18: Portrush Strand, 1997.

Kearney 1997). Several geographers have attempted to document the historical geography of Ireland (Orme 1970; Evans 1973; Graham and Proudfoot 1993; Johnson 1994; Duffy 1997), but these studies lack details, most likely due to the fact that they cover a temporal range of thousands of years. Birrell (1994) and Boal (1995) have looked at the Irish conflict from the perspective of policy and planning, focusing on policies that tend to promote segregation, or separation of the opposing sides, rather than providing a means by which the two may come together in peace.

Henry Glassie's (1982) Passing the Time in Ballymenone: Culture and History of an Ulster Community is a classic ethnographic study of a peaceful community in Northern Ireland, although the focus of the study was not specifically on peace vs. conflict. Another study that did emphasize peaceful and conflicting relationships, was conducted by Harris (1972) in the border town of Ballybeg, Ireland. Much of the contemporary scholarship on Ireland covers diverse topics such as ideology (eg. Boyce and O'Day 2001; Beattie 1993), gender (eg. Aretxaga 1997; Dowler 1995; Ward 1995; Percy 1994; Nash 1993), nationalism (eg. Cronin 1981), propaganda (Curtis 1984), and economics (Sweeney 1998). While all of the listed topic areas are relevant to the troubles, there are few scholars currently involved in exploring individual community responses to political strife in Northern Ireland, and the role of the interaction between ideology and landscape in political negotiations.

Several studies conducted on the subject of parades in Northern Ireland include both peaceful and contentious parade events. Some more popular works include Bryan's (1994; 1997; 2000) studies of Orange parade disputes with respect to Protestant identity, Jarman's (1997; 2000) comparisons of Nationalist/Republican and Loyalist/Unionist parades as political expressions, and Rolston's (1998) research on parades as expressions of culture and political

identity. Parading in Northern Ireland has been a subject of interest for dissertation research: for example Caldwell's (2001) examination of the Nationalist response to Orange parades in Portadown, and Kenney's (1991) study of parades as a form of organized conflict in Northern Ireland. Parading as a form of cultural-political debate has received a significant amount of attention.

The symbolic nature of the Northern Irish landscape, including that of parade events, has recently come under academic scrutiny. Examples include Santino's (2001) study on the role that public symbols play in social conflict, and studies of the material landscape of parades and mural painting by Jarman (1997), Rolston (1991), and Sluka (1992). While these texts provide evidence of the importance of art, ritual, and ideology in Northern Ireland, neither they, nor other works by Irish-studies scholars have attempted to discover how these ideological landscapes play a role in promoting violent conflict, or in cultivating peaceful interaction. Research on micro-territoriality and public ritual in Northern Ireland suggests that Loyalists and Nationalists share a common political culture in spite of their ideological differences (Bryan 2000; Buckley & Kenny 1995; Cronin 1981; Jarman 1997; Kearney 1997; O Keefe 1992; Rolston 1991; Sluka 1992). This political culture intentionally invests cultural landscapes with contentious ideological messages. These messages, both obvious and subtle, represent mnemonic and didactic symbolic devices that remind citizens of their loyalties and responsibilities (Nemeth 1987; Sluka 1992). Parades are one component of these landscapes, which also include mural and curb-stone painting, banners, graffiti, flag displays, and many other physical expressions of ideology. The continual creation and constant presence of these messages in contested space incites cultural conflict and prevents the mutual forgetting of ideological differences (Sluka 1992; Rolston 1991; Jarman 1997; Bryan 2000).

Attempts to bring peace to Northern Ireland have often been described as an elusive search for the negotiation of productive communities free from conflict, as if such a model of peaceful relations between Protestant and Catholic, Irish and British, was a far-fetched dream rather than an achievable reality. This project was inspired by my preliminary research and fieldwork in Northern Ireland, which found that there are localities of peaceful relations amidst cultural diversity in Northern Ireland, where residents of various backgrounds and preferences have somehow learned to live together and to refrain from violent conflict. The residents of northern coastal towns such as Portrush, Portstewart, Ballycastle, and Coleraine, for example, seem to enjoy a variety of democratic spaces that seem to be related to the peaceful cultural politics practiced by these residents. This project explores and describes how residents of one community in Northern Ireland have negotiated the construction of relatively peaceful landscapes amidst what outside observers mistakenly perceive as a uniformly chaotic and combative Northern Ireland. Identifying and describing pockets of peaceful communities in Northern Ireland not only presents a balanced counterpart to those studies that focus on violence, but it also opens into a more complete perspective, one that makes it possible to be optimistic about the prospects for negotiating an enlarged peaceful community throughout Northern Ireland.

Symbolism in the landscape --whether through rite or physical construction -- serves as a system for the retention of group history and ideals. My field studies in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland reveal the propagandizing influences of ideological landscapes. This study will document, compare, and contrast the architectures of ideology in the landscape, which may incite conflict in Northern Ireland, such as parade banners, murals, graffiti, colors, etc., and

describe how these landscapes may be transformed into spaces that promote forgiveness and reconciliation.

This project is unique in that it will examine parading from the perspectives of both the nationalist/Catholic community and unionist/Protestant community using the ethnographic method. The parade event will be looked at as an articulation of national identity and as symbolic interaction. Furthermore, a comparison will be drawn between two towns – Coleraine and Portadown – which have similar demographic traits. Thus the main question to be answered by this research is this: Is there a direct relationship between a contentious cultural landscape in Northern Ireland and occurrences of violent conflict? Furthermore, if these messages were removed from the landscape, would peace be more readily achieved? Hopefully, this comparison will provide us with a better understanding of why some community parades are contentious and others are not. Perhaps it is possible for parades to remain a part of cultural expression in all of Northern Ireland without displaying contention.

### Methodology

I have engaged in research in Northern Ireland over a span of several years, with visits in 1993, 1995, 1997, and 1999. The length of my stay each year ranged from several weeks to several months. On each visit to Northern Ireland I lived in the homes of families, with whom I became acquainted in various ways; some I was introduced to by a mutual friend, and some I was introduced to by Republican activist groups. Every one of these families included me in their daily lives, introduced me to friends and acquaintances, and took whatever time they had at their disposal to discuss my research projects and answer questions.

This is not to say that problems did not arise: as anthropologist R. Jenkins (1984) discovered upon doing research in Belfast, Northern Ireland, gaining the trust of residents in



Northern Ireland can be difficult and sometimes dangerous, as there is a high degree of suspicion involved in such a society fraught with conflict. In addition, access to the other side in this conflict situation is extremely limited. My visits in 1993 and 1995 were spent among the nationalist community, while the later years, and the ones most pertinent to this project, 1997 and 1999, I found myself on the other side, purely by chance. In Coleraine, where the divide is not so apparent, this did not pose too much of a problem, while in Portadown, the opposite was true. The implications of this will be discussed in the final analysis.

My methods of research include a combination of ethnographic fieldwork, landscape analysis, and archival research. This combination is essential to the success of this project. The ethnographic methods employed include participant observation, formal (tape-recorded) and informal interviews, and lurking. Participant observation involves taking part in every aspect of the lives you are studying – socializing, running errands, working, relaxing, etc. Interviews were conducted both formally – with a tape recorder – in which I ask a set of specific questions, and informally – whenever chance allows for discussion of the research topic. In situations where neither participation nor interviews were possible, lurking – listening to and watching the behaviors of strangers – was useful. After the observation or interview, I relied upon several key informants, who are mature and thoughtful, with whom I could discuss my findings. The information obtained through these multiple ethnographic techniques provides personal insights into the history, themes, feelings, and individual involvement in the creation of the cultural landscape.

Although visual ethnography (in this case, photography) has been considered by some as too subjective for use as a research tool by ethnographers (see Prosser 1996), others recognize it as a legitimate means to enhance and compliment written ethnographic texts (Pink 2001). Since

the visual is an important component of this project, photographs of the landscapes in question will be used. The analysis (Chapter 5) contains a description and a decoding of many of the symbols that are depicted in the photographs.

Mural painting and parading have long been important mediums by which people in Northern Ireland communicate their political and cultural ideas (Bryan 2000; Jarman 1997; Rolston 1991; Sluka 1992). These activities inscribe messages in the cultural landscape, which are then read, interpreted, and recreated by individuals who traverse the landscape (Ricoeur 1971). While the messages related by each individual act (mural or march) may be different, and can certainly be interpreted in many different ways, when seen as a system of cultural inscription on the landscape, and a creative group effort, they create a multi-layered map of sectarian division in Northern Ireland (Jarman 1997).

Cultural productions, such as the creation of cultural landscapes, can be read as texts that are meaningful, although unstable; the meanings written into the textual landscape are subject to recreation and reinterpretation as perspectives and social climates change (Ricoeur 1971). For analysis of my data, I have found the method used by social scientists involving the interpretation of landscapes as texts, known as Textual Analysis, or the Hermeneutic Method to be the most fruitful (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988; Duncan and Duncan 1988). The resulting interpretation of the landscape evolves from the interaction between the landscape (data collected) and the intellectual perspective of the interpreter (Duncan and Ley 1993).

As a researcher, I read the various messages and interpret the cultural landscape in Northern Ireland through intellectual and personal filters thereby creating a kind of truth – specifically that parades contribute to the creation of a sectarian geography in Northern Ireland. However, this result is an abstract interpretation that does not explain the lived experience of the

cultural landscape in Northern Ireland. In order to accomplish this level of understanding, an ethnographic study using thick description is necessary, in that it involves an intensive interrogation of each informant's actions and interpretations to sort out "the structures of signification" in events (Geertz 1973 pp.6-9). This allows the researcher to ask such questions as: "What kinds of thought and ideas pass through your mind as you walk by that graffiti every day?" "Why did you attend (or not attend) the parade?" These questions lead to more questions based on each individual response.

The final analysis combines the landscape and ethnographic data. I locate evidence of territorial behavior, where members of a particular community in effect mark their space, and go on to enforce the boundaries of that space through violence. Throughout, I maintain the goal of discovering if it is possible to create a landscape that promotes trust between opposing communities.

## CHAPTER 2

### GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

#### Site and Situation

The island of Ireland, also known throughout most of the English-speaking world by the endearment "The Emerald Isle," is 32,528 square miles in area and situated to the west of Great Britain, from which it is separated by the Irish Sea. The island is politically divided into the larger (Figure 2.19) Republic of Ireland in the south and Northern Ireland in the northeast.

The Republic of Ireland, the capital of which is Dublin (population 943,900), occupies five-sixths of the Emerald Isle. Its terrain is mostly level to rolling interior plain surrounded by rugged hills and low mountains. Spectacular sea cliffs march along the West Coast. The population (as of July 2002) is 3,883,159, and males outnumber females in all age groups except those 65 years and over. Catholics comprise 92% of the total population (World Factbook 2001). English is spoken in the Republic of Ireland, except for pockets of Irish (Gaelic) speakers in some areas and especially along the western coast, and on the Aran Islands (Salminen 1993).

Ireland was partitioned in 1920, with the six northeastern counties forming Northern Ireland, and claimed by Great Britain. However, this claim is passionately and sometimes violently disputed by most of the Irish Catholic minority (45%) residing in Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland, the capital of which is Belfast, comprises the northern one-sixth of the entire island and shares a 360-km. border with the Irish Republic (World Factbook 2001).

The United Kingdom has long been a leader in trade and finance, and is one of the world's trillion dollar economies. Ireland, on the other hand, has only recently attained significant economic growth (9% in 1995-2001), largely through investments in education and

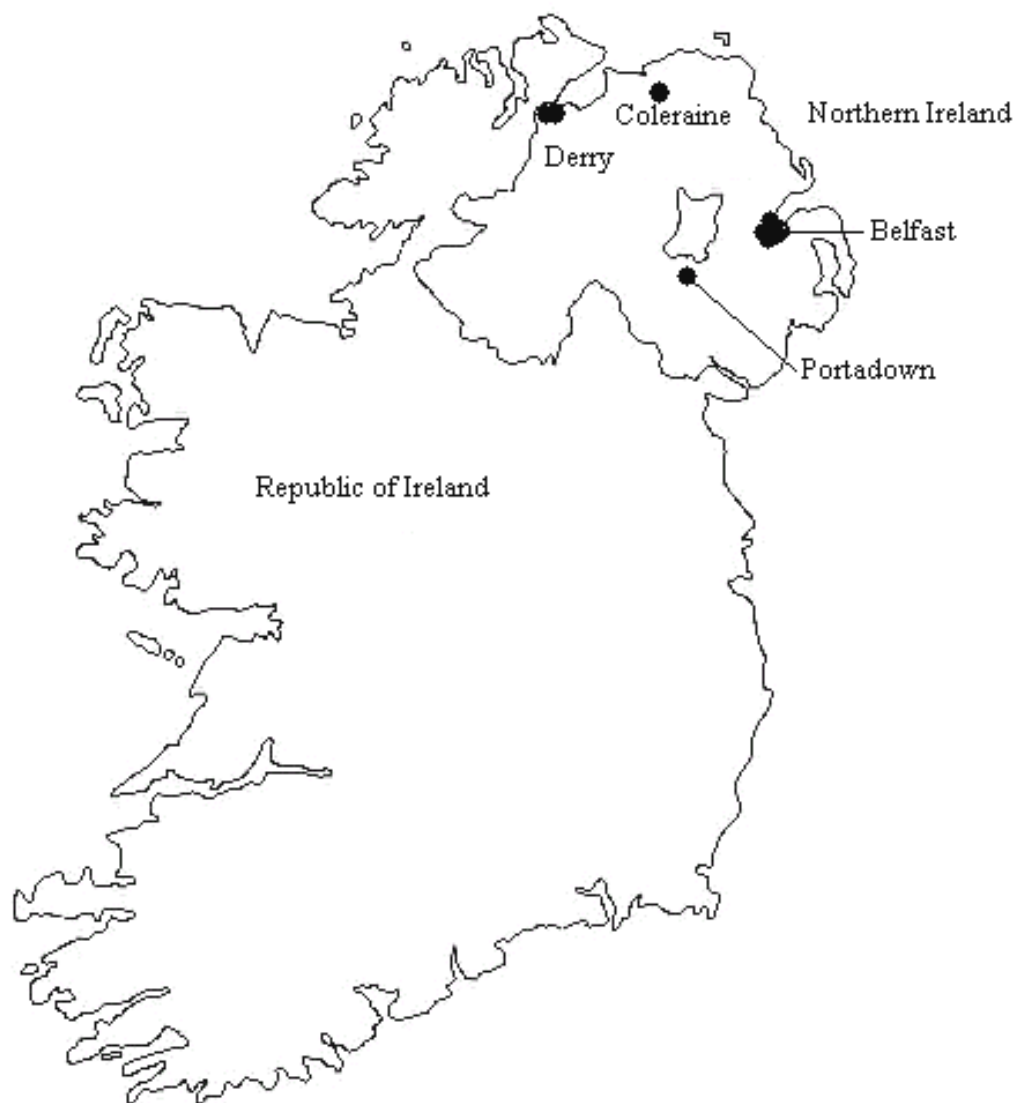


Figure 2.19: Map of Ireland and Northern Ireland.

industry. However, upon examination of a set of socio-economic factors, it would seem that Ireland compares favorably in these areas. For example, the population living below poverty in Ireland is 7% less than that of the UK, unemployment is 1.2% lower, and per capita Gross Domestic Product in Ireland is 27,300 compared to 22,800 in the UK (Central Statistics Office; World Factbook 2000est.) Considering that the UK was much more prosperous to begin with, these social factors may not mean much, unless Ireland continues its rapid economic growth (Sweeney 1998).

### Ireland's Troubled History

Ireland's troubles began in 1170 with the appearance of the English in the personage of Strongbow, who was then followed by Henry II, King John, and a host of others. Their aims were to conquer and subdue the Catholic natives, and to exploit the island economically. Lands were confiscated from the natives and granted by the English government to English and Scottish landlords – the majority of whom were non-resident landlords – and the Irish became tenants and paupers (Graham and Proudfoot 1993).

According to Brendan Smith (1997), initial Irish resistance to English control was fleeting, localized, and uncoordinated, yet it ensured the continued existence of important native dynasties and guaranteed continued conflict between native and English settler. The Gaelic and Anglo-Norman groups of late medieval Ireland shared social and economic ties, and their group identities were based upon antagonistic relations with the English newcomers, who characterized the native people pejoratively (Duffy 1997). In 1641, the Irish peasants rebelled against the British settlers. From 1649 through 1653, Oliver Cromwell conducted a military campaign designed to crush rebellions against government authority, to avenge the 1641 peasant rebellion

massacres, to convert all to Protestantism, and to banish the Irish landowners to the western province of Connaught (Duffy 1997).

In 1685, Catholic James II was crowned king, an event that caused some consternation among the Protestant population, and after James II produced a royal heir in 1688, the English Protestant elite were further alarmed. That same year, the British Parliament took the crown from James II, and proclaimed his son-in-law, Protestant Prince William of Orange, as King William III. In July of 1690, the ousted James II, assisted by Catholic Irish peasants, attempted and failed to reclaim the British crown from William III and his Protestant supporters. This event became known as the Battle of the Boyne, having taken place near the East Coast town of Drogheda, within territory controlled by Irish Protestants (Graham and Proudfoot, 1993). King William, after securing Ireland as part of his kingdom, left Ireland and never returned.

Legislation called the “Penal Laws” was passed by England in 1695, which served to both protect the property and the religious beliefs of the Protestant population. The laws restricted the number of Catholic clergy, disallowed the Irish access to a Catholic education, voting, bearing arms, inheriting, leasing or owning land, and access to having trades or professions (Doherty and Hickey, 1990). The Catholic segment of the population was further devastated when, between 1740-41, famine from failed potato crops killed an estimated 1/8<sup>th</sup> of the population (Griffin 1973).

Throughout the late 18th century, sporadic rebellions occurred throughout Ireland. During the 1780’s, the Catholic defenders and the Protestant Peep O’Day Boys conducted raids against each other. In 1791, the group called the United Irishmen, led by Theobald Wolfe Tone, was created out of the idea that everyone -- Catholics, Protestants and dissenters -- must join together to bring about reform. Later, the United Irishmen would join the Catholic Defenders. As

the British authorities regularly disarmed these rebel groups, later rebellions were fragmented and localized and largely occurred in east Ulster and County Wexford. Thus, in 1798, Tone, whose Republican ideals were inspired by the French and British revolutions, led an unsuccessful rebellion against British rule. French aid had been enlisted, however it arrived too late. The rebellion ended not with an Irish Republic but with a legislated British Union (Bartlett 1998).

The Act of Union (1800) officially made Ireland part of Great Britain (Kennedy and Johnson 1996). In 1803, another rebellion, this time led by Robert Emmet, was attempted and defeated. Then in 1823 Daniel O'Connell founded the Catholic Association and for ten years led a fight for civil rights for Irish Catholics, with some success. In 1829, the British Government passed the Catholic Emancipation Act, which repealed the Penal Laws, restoring some civil rights to the Irish and allowing the Irish to hold elected office (Graham and Proudfoot 1993).

Before the potato famine again struck Ireland in the 1840s, the population had begun to rise, while agricultural and industrial (linen) production began to decline. In the northeast, the only heavily industrialized area in Ireland, employment in trades fell by 15%. In other words, Ireland's economy was already on a downward turn when the famine hit. In addition, early 19<sup>th</sup>-century Ireland had already suffered sixteen different food crises from adverse weather (Duffy 1997). Still, the famine was not a disaster waiting to happen: little loss of life occurred, and the country annually produced enough food both to feed itself and have a large surplus for export. The rural poor, who were especially vulnerable, had thrived successfully for decades with the potato as a subsistence crop; a relatively small parcel of land could be used to raise the potato crop, which provided sufficient nutritional needs for large families, allowing for the majority of rural land to be cultivated for cash crops. The earnings from these cash crops were paid to mostly



absentee landholders, the vast majority of whom resided in Britain. The landless, laboring people (cottiers), who relied heavily on the potato, comprised 56% of the population at this time (Gallagher 1982).

In 1845, the incurable fungal disease *Phytophthora infestans* destroyed 40% of the potato crop. Mortality was relatively low at this point due to imported relief. During 1846 – 1850, three more potato crop failures occurred, but this time there was little relief available. Between 1845 and 1850, more than one million (some scholars estimate higher) Irish peasants died of starvation and related diseases (Daly 1996). It is estimated that 40% of the population in Connacht died, 30% in Munster, 21% in Ulster, and 9% in Leinster. Many more emigrated to Britain, the United States, Australia, and Canada to avoid starvation. The 1850 census reveals a decrease in population from 8,196,597 to 6,574,278 (almost 20%) from famine and emigration combined (Griffin 1973). Much of the rural land in Ireland was subsequently converted from crop cultivation to pasture. Small landholdings (5 acres or less) fell from 35% to 20%, and large landholdings (15 acres or more) rose from 31% to 48% (Duffy 1997). Thus, much of the land that had supported tenant farmers became devoted to livestock rearing. As a result, the Irish peasantry was displaced in a landscape that underwent rapid and drastic change (Gallagher 1982).

The Féinian movement, dedicated to fighting for Irish independence from Britain, was founded in 1858. It was not until 1867 that the British were successful in crushing the Féinian revolt. In the 19th century, Irish Nationalism grew in part through the inspiration of the Young Ireland Movement, which was led by Isaac Butt and Charles Stewart Parnell (Duffy 1997). While both of these men and the Young Ireland Movement were of Protestant origin, Irish Nationalism eventually became associated with Irish Catholicism and Unionism became

associated with Protestantism (Stewart 1997). From 1877 through 1891 Parnell won the allegiance of Catholics by defending their rights as tenant farmers and pushing for Home Rule in Ireland. However, the Home Rule bill was defeated by the British Parliament in 1892 (Duffy 1997).

The Gaelic Athletic Association was founded in 1884 to maintain traditional Irish sports, and the Gaelic League was founded in 1893 to stem the decline of the Irish Language. In 1905, the cultural and political movement Sinn Fein (Gaelic for “ourselves alone”) was founded (Doherty and Hickey 1990). Padraic Henry Pearse led what came to be known as the Easter Rebellion in 1916, the largest part of which took place in Dublin. However, this rebellion failed as well, and Pearse and several of his comrades were executed (Boyce 1996).

In 1918, seventy-three Irish members of the British Parliament established the Dail Eireann (House of Deputies) and declared Ireland to be independent from Great Britain. When the British government refused to recognize the new government, Irish rebels formed the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and initiated a guerrilla war (Duffy 1997). Thus the current phase of trouble in Ireland began.

The government’s response to the Gaelic/British split included: The Land Acts (Wyndham’s Act) transferred land ownership from landlords to tenants with low-interest governmental loans (Duffy 1997); the dis-establishment of the Church of Ireland (1869); and the establishment of State Social Welfare Agencies. The idea was to kill the political issue of Home Rule by focusing on social and economic problems (Hennessey 2001).

The Home Rule issue was neglected for the next twenty years, not to be addressed again until 1912 when the Protestant population in Ireland had become concentrated in Northeast Ireland. The Protestant population was quite hostile to the idea of separation, and the possibility

of Civil War in Ulster arose. WWI (1914-18) offered a temporary respite from the Home Rule question. The bill was suspended, and special consideration of Ulster was provided by Britain, despite opposition by the Catholic/Nationalist population (Hennessey 2001). During WWI, 40% of Ireland's adult male population served in the armed forces, and many worked in ammunition factories. Nationalists joined the service hoping to secure Home Rule, while Loyalists joined to defeat Home Rule. The latter were eventually shown preference by the British Government. Ireland suffered heavy losses during WWI, especially at the Battle of Somme in July, 1916 (Duffy 1997): this event still provides material for commemorative displays, such as murals (Irish News 04/01/99).

In April of 1916, discontent with Home Rule led to the Easter Rising, which was concentrated in the center of Dublin. The rising lasted only one week, due to poor planning and communication and faulty tactics. After the rising failed, the British executed the participants and organizers, and confiscated the munitions. During the time from 1917-1918, the volunteer movement (IRA) and Sinn Fein (Republican Party) reorganized. In January of 1919, the Republican Assembly – called Dail Eireann – was founded. The volunteers (IRA) began a guerilla war in January, 1919, and Sinn Fein achieved victory in the 1918 General Election. The guerilla war lasted for two years, and included such events as "Bloody Sunday," the burning of Cork City, and the destruction of Custom House in Dublin. The British created the "Black and Tans," who were a paramilitary group known for the excessive violence they inflicted upon suspected republicans (Doherty and Hickey 1990).

In July 1921 a truce was reached between the volunteers and the British, and the British proposed the Government of Ireland Act in 1920, which split Ireland into two political units. Six northern Protestant majority counties -- Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry (or

Derry), and Tyrone – became part of the British Commonwealth, called "Northern Ireland." The remaining twenty-six counties reverted to the status of a self-governing British dominion, with the name "Irish Free State" (World Factbook 1995). The Government of Ireland Act was at first refused by the Dail Eireann, but finally became law in 1922, officially instituting the Irish Free State (Duffy 1997).

Partition remained unacceptable to many Republicans, such as dissenters led by Eamon de Valera, who led an underground Republican movement during the U.S. War of Independence. Civil war in Ireland broke out later in 1922 between the supporters of the Free State and Republicans, and for the next year violent unrest ensued (Cronin 1981). Following the partition of Ireland, British Loyalists fleeing the Free State and Irish Nationalists fleeing Northern Ireland resettled. Many Loyalists from the Free State emigrated to Britain and Northern Ireland, while some Irish Catholics from Northern Ireland resettled in the Free State (Stewart 1997).

After partition, social welfare and economic development in Northern Ireland suffered, and from 1922-1923 severe violence continued between the two communities (Unionist/Republican) (Fitzpatrick 1998). The Catholic/Nationalist minority population suffered from civil rights abuses, including the manipulation of the electoral process, public and private employment discrimination, security focus on suppression of political dissent rather than on criminal activity, and discrimination in the disbursement of educational funds (Cronin 1981; Doherty and Hickey 1990; Fitzpatrick 1998).

The 1960's Civil Rights movement in Northern Ireland was a period of great social unrest. The movement sparked violence between Catholic/Nationalist demonstrators and their Protestant/Unionist opponents. In 1967, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association was founded and Civil War continued to escalate (Griffin 1973). As communal violence spread

throughout Northern Ireland, the British Army was deployed in 1969. The British Army assisted the official Northern Ireland police force, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC). The RUC was a largely Protestant force that demonstrated bias in favor of the Loyalist/Unionist community; this only further angered the Nationalist/Catholic community (Curtis 1984).

The British government implemented several policies during the late 1960's and 1970's, in an attempt to control the escalating violence. These restrictive policies included placement of a curfew on the Falls Road in Belfast, legal internment without trial for up to seven days, and Direct Rule from Westminster. Direct Rule replaced the Unionist government at Stormont, creating a Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (Bew and Gillespie 1999). In 1985, the Anglo-Irish Agreement came into being, which was designed to recognize the interest in and allow for the involvement of Dublin in Northern Ireland affairs – an agreement that angered the Unionist population (Boyce and O'Day 2001). These measures did not lessen political strife in Northern Ireland. After the agreement passed, Northern Ireland was plagued by an unprecedented level of violence, in which the IRA splintered, and an extreme Republican wing – the Provisional IRA (PIRA) was formed (Cronin 1981). In addition, the Ulster Defense Association (UDA), a notoriously ruthless Loyalist paramilitary group was created (Boyce and O'Day 2001).

An end to the violence in Northern Ireland appeared within reach when both Republican and Unionist Paramilitary groups agreed to a cease-fire in 1994. However, by 1996, the hostilities had again resumed. As of 2001, after 3,600-plus deaths attributed to the troubles (Sutton 1994; Fay, Morrissey and Smyth 1999; Santino 2001), peace may be again in sight. All parties involved – The Republic of Ireland, Great Britain, and both Northern Irish factions – appear to be seriously attempting to negotiate a peaceful agreement (Hennessey 2001; MacGinty

and Darby 2002). Despite the official work toward peace, contentious parading events in Northern Ireland continue to undermine peace negotiations (MacGinty and Darby 2002).

#### Parades in Northern Ireland

The first William III parade (military style) occurred on November 4, 1690, just a few months after the battle of the Boyne. This celebration was state-organized, and although it was very elitist in nature, events occurred for the benefit of the general population throughout the city of Dublin: bonfires, ringing of church bells, and fireworks displays (Simms 1974; Hill 1984). Over the following one hundred years, Prince William, as well as other royal persons, were commemorated annually by the state (Kelly 1994).

According to Jarman (1997 p.34), the state-sanctioned commemorations associated with William were celebrations of “the ideals of ‘civil and religious liberty’ ...and [William] as a symbol of constitutional government rather than as the military conqueror of Catholic Ireland.” Yet, because this November 4<sup>th</sup> celebration fell between two other important commemorations in Ireland – October 23<sup>rd</sup> (the 1641 Catholic peasant rebellion) and November 5<sup>th</sup> (Gunpowder Treason Day, in which Guy Fawkes attempted to bomb the Parliament building to restore Catholic rule in Britain) (Barnard 1991) – both of which focused on Protestant victories over Catholicism, the William commemoration took on the same tone by temporal association (Jarman 1997).

Gradually, the memory of William was appropriated by the Protestant population to symbolize a Protestant victory over Catholicism, and other commemorations by Protestant/Williamite societies became annual events. The Volunteers held Williamite parades on July 1<sup>st</sup> to commemorate the Battle of the Boyne, on July 12<sup>th</sup> to commemorate the Battle of Aughrim, and on November 4<sup>th</sup> to commemorate William’s birthday, in places such as Belfast,

Newtownards, Coleraine, Cork, and Dublin (Bryan 2000). It was the Protestant Orange Order that was most influential in making parading the most popular form of political and cultural expression that it is today (Jarman 1997).

The first Orange Order parade occurred in July 1796, one year after the Order was founded near Portadown (Jarman 1997; Garvaghy Residents 1999; Bryan 2000). Close to 2,000 men marched from Portadown, Loughgall and Richhill to Markethill, wearing orange cockades, and carrying flags, painted wands, and King William banners (Jarman 1997; Bryan 2000). This march was sober and relatively quiet, with unarmed participants and spectators, although some violence did occur after the parade. The following year large peaceful parades were held in Lurgan and Belfast, however that held in Stewartstown, County Tyrone ended with 14 people dead and many more wounded after Orangemen clashed with local militia. Orangeism and its associated celebrations was most common in rural areas, with Orange Order membership remaining low in Belfast until the 1860s. The state tolerated such celebrations until the United Irish Uprising of 1798-1800. Violence became commonplace as Catholics pushed for their right to protection during such celebrations, at which time the debate over parade contention began (Jarman 1997).

To date, the popularity of Orangeism has increased significantly: thousands of such parades and celebrations are held annually in Northern Ireland (Figures 2.20 and 2.21), and there are a few in the Republic of Ireland, Scotland (McFarland 2000), and England (MacRaild 2000) as well. When the Civil Rights movement began in 1967, with its focus on issues such as discrimination in housing and employment and gerrymandering of local elections, the most popular form of protest was parades. Although these demonstrations were not exclusively nationalist, their message was perceived as pro-Catholic, and therefore threatening to the

Protestant status quo. Furthermore, and even more threatening, they were often routed through areas that had always been barred to them, such as the Belfast City Centre (Bryan 2000). In fact, it was not until the summer of 1993, that a nationalist parade was allowed to route through Belfast City Centre (Figures 2.22-2.25).

The Civil Rights demonstration on 12 August 1969 in Derry, which is referred to as “The Battle of the Bogside,” and the beginning of the troubles, generated violence between the RUC and the residents of the nationalist Bogside (Jarman and Bryan 2000). It was after this event that the British army was deployed in Northern Ireland, and paramilitary activity drastically increased. Yet it was the march protesting internment without trial, which the British government had introduced in 1971, that the nationalist community considers indicative of their lack of right to demonstrate (Figure 2.26). Held in Derry on January 30, 1972, this event came to be known as “Bloody Sunday,” when 13 unarmed civilians were killed by British troopers (MacGinty and Darby 2002). Parading has become an important part of life for both nationalist and unionist/loyalist communities in Northern Ireland. Parades “show how sectarian geography is mapped out and sustained...are used to commemorate specific events by re-enacting battle of the past...and help sustain the conflict in the present (Jarman 1997 p.19)”.

\* \* \*

The conflict in Northern Ireland is often spoken of as a religious divide, rather than a political divide. The reason for this stems from the fact that religious affiliation in Northern Ireland automatically assigns an individual to a political ideology. Religious differences are then used to substantiate political differences. It is true that most Protestants are either unionist or loyalist, and most Catholics are nationalist and/or republican. However, the religiousness of individuals varies; an individual, either Protestant or Catholic, may attend church services every





Figure 2.20: Arch, Sandy Row, Belfast, 1997.



Figure 2.21: Sandy Row bonfire, Belfast, 1997.



Figure 2.22: Announcement of Belfast parade, Derry's Bogside, 1993.





Figure 2.23: Nationalist parade, Belfast, 1993.



Figure 2.24: Nationalist parade, Belfast, 1993.



Figure 2.25: Nationalist parade, Belfast, 1993.





Figure 2.26: Bloody Sunday mural, Derry, 1993 (Gatrell and Keirse 2001).

day, or not at all. Regardless, they remain affiliated with either Protestantism or Catholicism. In addition, the differences between Protestant Churches are not significant in Northern Ireland.

The only thing that matters is that they are not Roman Catholic. Orangemen, unionists, and loyalists may belong to (or not officially belong to) any Protestant church, so long as he or she was born into a Protestant family. Table 2.2 highlights the social and political divisions in Northern Ireland, by which people identify themselves and others. The Protestant Churches listed in the table include those most common, however there are also Methodist and Pentecostal Churches throughout Northern Ireland, and these too are acceptable forms of Protestantism in Northern Ireland.

Table 2.2: Social and Political Divisions in Northern Ireland (Kelly 1982; Todd 1987; Bruce 1994; Metress 1995; Caldwell 2001)

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Nationalist</u>	<u>Unionist</u>	<u>Loyalist</u>
Identification	Irish	Irish	British	Ulsterman/ woman
Religion	Roman Catholic	Roman Catholic	Protestant; especially Presbyterian, Anglican Church of Ireland, Calvinist	Protestant; especially Calvinist, Presbyterian, Free Presbyterian
Political Aim	Re-unification with Ireland Free NI of British rule	Free NI of British rule	Remain part of Great Britain	Ulster is separate from Britain, yet allied with
Political Action	Armed and constitutional system	Constitutional system	Constitutional system	Armed and constitutional system

The data contained in the table is a simplification of social and political divisions, as there is a continuum of liberal to extreme unionism (Wright 1973), and nationalists can also be



republicans, in that they are involved in armed struggle to achieve their political goals, and loyalists are increasingly moving away from their alliance with Great Britain (Caldwell 2001).

The following chapter contains a description of the town of Portadown, and the 1997 loyalist July parade, along with supportive ethnographic data, in which residents describe how they negotiate their divided community, and how parades in their town affect them personally.

## CHAPTER 3

### PORTADOWN

#### Site and Situation

The town of Portadown, Northern Ireland grew up from the 1625 Michael Obins estate. It is located in County Armagh on the River Bann, approximately seven miles from the southern coast of Lough Neagh, and thirty miles west of Belfast. The population of Portadown was 21,229 in 1991 (SELB Library Service 1995), estimated now to be around 30,000 (Caldwell 2001), with approximately 45% Catholic and 55% Protestant. Portadown is relatively wealthy and industrialized, and unemployment levels are around 3.1% (PPRU 2002).

The Orange Order was created in 1795 in Portadown, with Portadown Orangemen participating in the first Drumcree Church Battle of the Boyne service on July 1<sup>st</sup>. This service is commemorated annually along with the traditional Boyne celebration in Portadown. The following year, Portadown Orangemen participated in the first Orange parade in July 1796 commonplace (Jarman 1997; Garvaghy Residents 1999; Bryan 2000). Over the next two hundred years, violence perpetrated on Catholics by Portadown Orangemen was commonplace, and because of this, attempts were made by Garvaghy Road residents several times over the years to prevent Orange parades from taking place (Garvaghy Residents 1999).

As the Civil Rights Movement was beginning in the 1960s, and the sectarian divide becoming more dramatic, housing was undergoing redevelopment in Portadown. New housing was built along part of the traditional parade route, the Garvaghy Road. The new Garvaghy Road neighborhood became a largely Roman Catholic area, into which residents were loathe to admit Orange marcher access. Thus a new phase of the troubles began in Portadown, with residents refusing Orangemen access to their traditional route (Figure 3.27), and Orangemen pushing

through with the aid of loyalist paramilitaries, the RUC, and the British army. At the same time, nationalist parades, such as the 1985 St. Patrick's Day parade routed through the same area, were opposed and often prevented by loyalists and the RUC (Garvaghy Residents 1999).

In May of 1997, after serious contention at the July 1996 Drumcree parade in Portadown, a Parades Commission was appointed by the British government for the purpose of resolving parade disputes. This Commission would have the power to make decisions regarding parades, which used to be the role of the RUC. Yet the Commission did not come into effect until after July of 1997 (Jarman 1997; Garvaghy Residents 1999; Bryan 2000).

#### Orange Parade 1997

July 3<sup>rd</sup>, and I'm sitting in a pub – loyalist – with Neil, who is concerned about my plans to attend the Drumcree parade along the Garvaghy Road a few days hence. He tells me it's not a good idea, and that I will get hurt. According to Neil, the Portadown Orangemen will not allow me to take photographs, as these can be used to identify them as IRA targets. He predicts that my camera will be destroyed and that I will be injured if I attempt to take photographs. Furthermore, my presence alone would be construed as hostile if I attend without an escort. Should I persist in my plans to attend, he insists on accompanying me. Neil advises me to attend the parade at another location, where it is safer. Even Belfast would be better, he informs me.

By the following morning, the local trouble had started. Security check-points were set up at various points by the RUC and British soldiers. Several hundred residents from the nationalist Garvaghy area staged an anti-parade protest on the Garvaghy Road, while "Reroute" and "Peace" murals were being painted on buildings alongside the road. The Garvaghy Road community was hoping the Boyne parade would be re-routed away from their area, but had not yet heard anything to support their hopes. Walking around the town, particularly along the divide

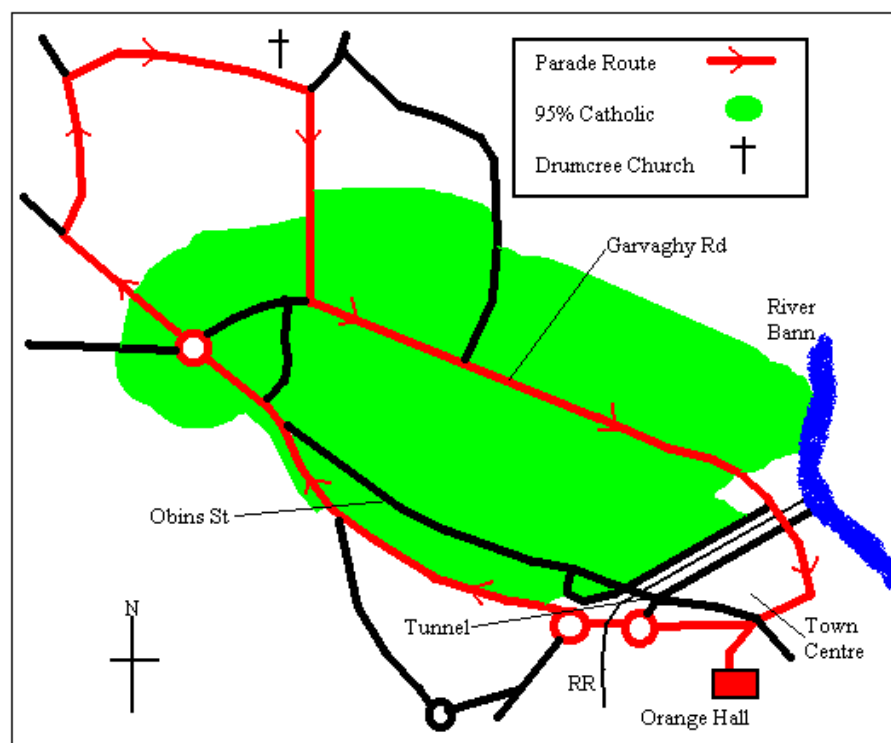


Figure 3.27: Portadown Orange Parade Route, 1997

at Obins Street, was stressful for me. Passers-by mumbled insults at me, and British soldiers stationed at the check-point under the Northway force everyone, including me, to squeeze past them and their weapons on our way through.

I couldn't get into the Garvaghy area the following day (July 5<sup>th</sup>), as the security presence (RUC and British Army) had been increased, and Garvaghy residents were again protesting on the road. Helicopters whirred overhead as I made my way back to Neil's place to discuss the situation with him. I found him to be very angry about the trouble, but confident that the parade and service at Drumcree Church would go ahead as planned.

(Neil) Couldn't get through? You should've left your camera behind. Being an American, they probably figured you'd just go sit on the road. [Neil looks a question at me.]

(Deborah) I just wanted photos of the murals.

(Neil) Hum. In a fortnight, maybe.

(Deborah) I must return to Coleraine tonight. They are worried about me, and I promised I would go to the church service with Gloria in the morning. Will I be able to get back tomorrow?

(Neil) [Shrugs] The parade will pass off. Maybe if you put the camera away.

In the end, I wasn't able to get into town for the parade. I have relied here on Neil's description of the parade; I had warned him ahead of time that he might have to be my eyes and ears. I told him what I was looking for, and he described to me what he heard and saw. He did not watch the parade from the Garvaghy area, which I hadn't expected him to attempt, but rather from the town centre. From Neil's account, this parade was similar to the Coleraine parade in several ways: the costumes, banners, flags, and instrumentation were all similar to those in Coleraine. The Orangemen wore suit and tie with the traditional orange sash, while the band members wore uniforms in various shades of black or blue (no green). Orangemen played lambeg drums decorated in orange, while the band members played flutes, smaller drums, and

accordions. The Portadown parade was larger and contained many more bands and Orange marchers (2,000 plus marchers from all over Northern Ireland were reported that day by Garvaghy Residents(1999)). In other ways the two parades were dissimilar; In Portadown Neil reported that the drumming was loud and aggressive, as was the reaction from spectators. This must have been the “blood and thunder” drumming I had heard of. In addition, a few women and young girls marched wearing the Orange sash; only men and boys marched in Coleraine. When I asked Neil about tension or community atmosphere in the crowd, he said that there was a sense of community, however “everyone was upset about the protesting on the [Garvaghy] road.”

#### Ethnographic Data

Neil is a single Protestant man who grew up just outside of Portadown. Having been born just as the Civil Rights movement began, he has known of the troubles his entire life, yet he feels somewhat distanced from the situation.

(Neil) I don't have anything to do with trouble. Me brother was UVF...went to jail for it. He's not a bad bugger, just...He got a degree while in jail.

(Deborah) So you don't feel that the trouble in Northern Ireland has anything to do with you?

(Neil) Well but I live here...

(Neil thinking)

(Deborah) Do you take part in the July Boyne celebrations?

(Neil) Aye, I do. But not like some a these fellas. I don't want any bother.

(Deborah) It's avoidable?

(Neil) Oh aye. It is. Go down the local where I always go. Stick to my area.

(Deborah) But the parade is routed through a Catholic area.

(Neil) Always has been. It's only the last few years there's been trouble.

(Deborah) What do you think about their [Garvaghy Residents] arguments? That the parade is a form of harassment and intimidation and should be rerouted away from their area?

(Neil makes impatient-dismissive gesture) It's part of our tradition. They would take that from us. (Shakes head.) The only reason there's such a crowd here is 'cause they're tryin' to stop it. Otherwise it would be quiet. We should be able to march from the church as we've always done. They have their day as well.

(Deborah) Marches?

(Neil) And festivals.  
(Deborah) In Protestant neighborhoods?  
(Neil) No, but they never have.

If I hadn't known Neil so well and in different circumstances, I wouldn't have asked such sensitive questions in such a way, and in fact, he suggested that I watch what I say around town. Yet I felt his irritation with me was minor, so I brought the subject around to British/Irish identity by referring to him as "Irish" in an otherwise mundane conversation.

(Neil) British. I'm British.  
(Deborah) But you were born and raised in Ireland, as were your parents and theirs.  
(Neil waves me away.)  
(Neil) Northern Ireland is part of Great Britain. We have British traditions. We're British. (Bangs on the table.)  
(Deborah) You also have Irish traditions.  
(Neil is silent.)  
(Deborah) What if the border was removed? What if Northern Ireland became part of Ireland?  
(Neil) I'd leave. Go to England.  
(Deborah) You'd leave your family and friends?  
(Neil) Wouldn't have to. They'd go too.  
(Deborah) They've said this? You've talked about it?  
(Neil) Oh aye!  
(Deborah) If you went to England would the English consider you British? Or Irish?  
(Neil finally glares at me and doesn't answer.)

I had referred to Neil as "Irish" on previous occasions, yet he hadn't corrected me then. Perhaps he didn't because the troubles of the Boyne parade were distant, or because we had just met.

In Portadown within living memory there has always been some level of trouble, as well as in neighboring towns. Everyone in Portadown, whether Catholic or Protestant, Nationalist or Unionist, is aware of political and social tensions by the time they reach adulthood. Although not

formally addressed in the classroom or the home, the issues were alluded to in the home and in the separate Catholic/Protestant communities.

Growing up in Portadown is and was a different experience than that in Coleraine. While there is currently an integrated school in the town, separate schools are and were more numerous. Regardless of the type of school they attend, children in Portadown eventually learn to maintain distinct identities with regard to the political/religious divide. For the children attending the integrated school, this learning may take longer than others. One resident of Catholic Portadown describes her and her children's feelings with regard to integrated schooling and growing up a Catholic:

In September, my eldest son will be starting secondary education and he will not be attending an integrated school. I am frightened to send him to an integrated school. For him to have an integrated education would mean leaving the community. He does not want to go, because he is afraid to be recognized as not only a Catholic, but a Catholic from the Garvaghy Road. He will not go shopping with me. I have been verbally abused because I am a Catholic from the Garvaghy Road. When I go shopping, I suffer from panic attacks. We cannot go to the local swimming pool on a family outing. The children have so much energy; the swimming pool is a good way to release it. It is very painful to watch my children as Drumcree has had traumatic effects on their behavior. The questions they ask are very hard to answer. They do not understand why the police and army have set up checkpoints. 'Why do helicopters fly in the sky above us? Why are our Protestant neighbors protesting?' I have no answer for them. They also ask, 'Was Portadown like this when you were a wee girl, mummy?' 'It was', I always answer (Garvaghy Residents 1999 p.47).

Another resident of the Garvaghy Road describes her life in Portadown:

When I was a child of seven or eight, I was awakened to a terrible reality about life in Portadown. My father is very smart and could have been anything he wanted; he helped me write this letter. But he is a Catholic and was refused jobs because he is a Catholic. Now he is a labourer and that is all he knows how to be, so that's what he will stay. I am only 11 years old and have already been chased and verbally abused out of the town centre (how many 11 year old Protestant girls could say the same?). If maybe the Orangemen were more sensitive and caring



they would have more respect and choose a different road for their march  
(Garvaghy Residents 1999 p.65)

Tragically, another child of the Garvaghy Road was killed in 1996. His mother remembers this July and the Drumcree siege of 1996, the most, as this was when her son first became aware of the Drumcree issue:

He [Darren] was eleven years old. The Drumcree issue had already started to affect him. For three days he had talked to the police at the bottom of the street. He laughed and joked with them and he even ran errands for them. But when he saw them on the TV in their riot gear hitting people sitting on the road, he couldn't accept what he saw. He was shocked watching people covered in blood. From that moment onwards his innocent mind was annoyed with what he had seen. I think that was the 11<sup>th</sup> of July in 1996 and from then on the sectarian war caught up with Darren. I had noticed a change in him as he became more aware of what was happening around the town. He was afraid to go to the swimming pool in town and when he said he hated Protestants because of Drumcree, I tried to tell him not all Protestants were bad...On Tuesday the 8<sup>th</sup> of October he arrived home from school at 3.45. I wanted him to stay in [the house]...and I didn't hear him saying, 'I'm away out, mammy.' It was a quarter past four when I was told Darren was lying on the Corcrain Road and he wasn't moving...Although my son had been knocked down by a van the accident happened because he was running away from the Protestant children (Garvaghy Residents 1999 pp.86-88).

Being a parent, especially a mother, in Catholic Portadown is a particularly stressful occupation. A woman need only mention to her doctor that she lives in the Garvaghy area, and a prescription for valium is readily given. Catholic parents must watch their children suffer from abuse, and answer unanswerable questions about such abuse. They must either keep them in the house, or worry about the consequences of letting them out to play. They must keep their own tempers in check when the tensions of Julys are at their greatest.

I tried to speak to Neil about such things as sectarian conflict among children in Portadown, but he had very little to say. He did not participate in such activities as a child, he said, and didn't think there was a real problem with this in the town. I didn't push for any more

on that topic. Neil went to an integrated school as a child, and made many friends there, both Catholic and Protestant. When asked about the strength and durability of these friendships, he had this to say:

(Deborah) You said you went to an integrated school?

(Neil) Aye.

(Deborah) Who's idea was that? Yours? Your parents?

(Neil) My granny. She lived near it.

(Deborah) Do you think it [the school] integrates the two communities, Catholic and Protestant?

(Neil) To some extent it does, aye.

(Deborah) Only to some extent?

(Neil) [Sighs] It's good while you're young...to meet...to make friends that are Catholic. But it doesn't last. [Long pause] I don't have...of all the lads...Catholic lads I met in school...I don't have any contact with any of 'em.

(Deborah) Why not?

(Neil) [Shrugs]

(Deborah) They were good people?

(Neil) Oh sure! But things change.

(Deborah) They've changed?

(Neil) No.

(Deborah) You see them in the town...at the shops and stuff?

(Neil) Aye, but we don't...it was a long time ago that we played together.

(Deborah) Do they ignore you?

(Neil) No. Nothin' like that. We just don't...know each other anymore.

While segregation in education has decreased, the town of Portadown became much more highly segregated in terms of housing after the redevelopment scheme in the 1960s, when the Garvaghy area came into being and the Civil Rights Movement was gaining speed. Prior to this, Nationalists were scattered in Portadown, except for the Obins Street area, or “the tunnel” (Figure 3.28), as this Catholic ghetto was referred to (access to Obins Street is achieved through a tunnel under the Motorway). This was an area with no secondary school for Catholics and very poor living conditions: the houses were too small, and often did not have indoor plumbing (Caldwell 2001).

According to Caldwell (2001), Catholics in Portadown, as in other areas of Northern Ireland, did not have the same opportunities that Protestants enjoyed, and this was particularly apparent with regard to housing. The Housing Executive allocated homes based on political loyalty rather than need.

...we couldn't even get a decent house you know. One of my sisters or brothers got married. They had to wait two years and there was a Protestant working out there, he got it. And you had to beg the landlord. I seen my mother goin' to the landlord sayin' my daughter's havin' a child there's a house there beside me and she mighta got it, she might not because sometimes you had to give them money...(Caldwell 2001 p.97).

There continues to be a sectarian divide with regard to employment and access to shopping and services. Catholics often find it difficult to get a good job, and if they do manage to, suffer discrimination and harassment at the workplace. Many are forced to seek work outside of Portadown (Caldwell 2001).

The first job I went for in 1960...he says what religion are ya? Now, he knew by my school...I said, what's that got to do with the job? Can I do it any better or worse because of my religion? He said no, but I have to ask anyway. I didn't get the job...(Caldwell 2001).

The shops are located in the town centre, while other services, such as the library and the community centre with swimming pool, are located beyond the town centre in Protestant neighborhoods. Neil said that he has never suffered from harassment in the town centre, and thought it odd that I asked such a question. Yet many Catholics do suffer from harassment, both at work and out shopping.

I sent my children to a mixed school so they would be growing up and not caring about differences between Protestants and Catholics. I thought I was doing the right thing, but then at 11 or 12, they were too old for the mixed school and had to

move on, and they couldn't meet their Protestant friends anymore. When one of them was 17, he got a job in the town and one of his Protestant school-friends was there – but he wouldn't let on he knew my son in front of other Protestant workers; he wouldn't show any friendship. My son just couldn't believe it; he said he wanted to talk to him, 'but he didn't want to know me'. That hurt him and he said, 'Well, if he doesn't want to talk to me when his friends are around, then I don't think I'll bother. I don't want to talk to him.' The fella would only talk to him when they were alone together, but it was back to the cold shoulder when there were any Protestants around. Its hard for him to realize that they are under more pressure than we are, that we have nothing to lose by being friendly with them but they have. They have more fear of that than our children have (Garvaghy Residents 1999 p.101).

When walking around in Portadown, it is not difficult to ascertain which neighborhood you are in. In Catholic areas (Figures 3.28-3.32) one sees Irish Tri-Color flags hanging from homes and flagpoles, Republican graffiti, and perhaps a mural or two. Access may also be limited to these areas, such as in the checkpoint at the tunnel to Obins Street (Figure 3.33). In this case, the boundary line between Protestant and Catholic Portadown is clearly demarcated. In Protestant neighborhoods (Figures 3.34 and 3.35), one sees Union Jacks and Ulster flags hanging from homes, curbs and street lamps painted red, white, and blue, bunting strung across streets, Loyalist graffiti, and perhaps a mural. Not once did I have any doubt as to the political loyalty of any neighborhood I was in. Yet, in the town centre (Figure 3.36), which you would assume to be mixed, I found acres of red, white, and blue bunting throughout, as preparations were underway for July parading. I felt most comfortable in the Garvaghy area of Portadown; no one there, once I got past the security checkpoint, said anything negative to me or about me. While in the town center, along the boundary line, and in neighborhoods with painted curbstones, and strung with bunting, I felt watched and suffered occasional verbal harassment.

Since the Orange Order was established in Portadown in 1795, and marching became so important for Protestants in the town, Catholics have suffered from violence perpetrated by



Figure 3.28: The tunnel, Portadown, 1997.



Figure 3.29: Obins Street, Portadown, 1997.



Figure 3.30: Garvaghy area, Portadown, 1997.





Figure 3.31: Garvaghy area, Portadown, 1997.





Figure 3.32: Republican graffiti, Garvaghy Road, Portadown, 1997.



Figure 3.33: Obins Street, graffiti, Portadown, 1997.

Orangemen, usually occurring on the evening following the march. The police and the British government have largely ignored this problem, and the perpetrators have gone unpunished (Garvaghy Residents 1999).

Prior to the Civil Rights Movement, the Orange Order marched through the Catholic tunnel area three times each July, while Catholic parades were denied access to much of the town. While many Catholic residents ignored the parades, others, especially children, did watch the parades and attend the bonfires (Caldwell 2001).

My best friend was a Protestant girl she's the same age as me, so I got to age seven, six, seven, eight, nine and her family would have been goin' to the bonfires and they would have took me because we were like sisters...they took me everywhere...(Caldwell 2001 p. 104).

[I remember them] comin' around the doors collecting for something with the arch, I didn't understand the reason for the arch. I thought it was nice and colorful when I was a young fella...but I also remember my father pullin' me in and closing the door. We used to pull the curtains across. They wouldn't let us out of the house when there was a band parading and I just didn't understand...until I went to school, then I suddenly realized there was a difference between Protestants and Catholics, we weren't allowed to go stand and watch...I was standin' [watching once] and some old woman turned around and told me to go back home, this wasn't for me. I remember very well, [it's a] vivid memory (Caldwell 2001 pp. 110-111).

...you watched the parade, as a three, four or five year old...you liked the band and all...you would have watched for Billy Montgomery and a few Denny's workers...(Caldwell 2001 p.111).

I think the thing that struck me a child that the local band, we wouldn't have been allowed to parade a certain distance...[the Loyal Orders] could march...the length of your street, they come from the middle of the town, [the Loyal Orders] come from all over the area and marched down your street but you couldn't, [the Loyal Orders] came down your street and marched past your house down to the Orange Hall, we wouldn't been allowed to walk that far in our own area! ["in our own area" is said with great emphasis and in a loud voice] (Caldwell 2001 p.108).

It wasn't until the Civil Rights movement began, and Catholics in Portadown settled in one large area [Garvaghy area], that they began to organize as a community for equal rights to opportunities. Caldwell (2001) attributes this change in attitude and behavior on the part of Catholics in Portadown, to a new sense of identity achieved when they became a more tightly knit community at the start of the Civil Rights Movement. In addition to seeking equal rights, the issue of parading and parade routes was no longer ignored by the Catholic community (Garvaghy Residents 1999; Caldwell 2001).

As British troops marched down the Garvaghy road on Sunday, July 6, 1997, the residents of the Garvaghy area spilled into the road to protest the impending parade. The troops then turned toward Drumcree, giving Garvaghy residents the impression that the Orangemen were to be halted, thus the residents returned to their homes. The troops then knocked down the women's peace camp (set up near St. John's Catholic Church, along the parade route to Drumcree Church, within the Catholic area, for the July parade re-routing demonstrations), and armored vehicles lined the Garvaghy road, and forming a barrier for Orangemen to proceed without Garvaghy resistance. Garvaghy residents flooded an intersection along the Garvaghy Road, where a standoff ensued. Eventually, plastic bullet rounds were fired and the residents were beaten off the road, as more troops and RUC flooded in to block the neighborhood's access to the parade route. The Orange parade, with over 2,000 marchers, plus RUC escort, passed through in mid-afternoon while British troops stood guard (Garvaghy Residents 1999).

Over the next two days (July 7-8) confrontation ensued between Garvaghy residents and security forces. Helicopters droned overhead as tanks, armed troops and the RUC occupied the area. The residents retaliated by burning hijacked vehicles and throwing construction debris. Those residents unlucky enough to be caught out of doors, were attacked and beaten by RUC. On



Figure 3.34: Protestant neighborhood, Portadown, 1997.





Figure 3.35: Protestant neighborhood, Portadown, 1997.



Figure 3.36: Portadown City Centre, 1997.

Wednesday, July 9<sup>th</sup>, over 10,000 Nationalists from all over Northern Ireland joined the Garvaghy residents for a peace rally, bringing an end to the confrontation (Garvaghy Residents 1999).

Every July since the Civil Rights Movement began, residents of the Garvaghy area suffer from abuse and violence at the hands of Orangemen. The events of the 1990's are not simply demonstrations against marching. As Orangemen gather to parade through Portadown, the Catholic community is verbally abused and physically attacked. They fear for their families and friends, as well as for their property. Meanwhile, the British army and the RUC have allowed Orange perpetrators access to Catholic Portadown (Garvaghy Residents 1999; Caldwell 2001).

In 1995 Garvaghy residents formed a coalition (GRRC – Garvaghy Road Residents Coalition) in an attempt to ‘talk’ with Orange and RUC officials about the possibility of re-routing parades in such a way that both communities would be satisfied. After widespread protest from Orangemen, parades continued along the Garvaghy road until 1998. The violent confrontations of July 1997 are typical for Portadown, regardless of whether the Orange march is permitted or not. In July of 1998 confrontation occurred between Orangemen and security forces when the newly appointed Parades Commission ordered the parade to be re-routed away from the Garvaghy Road. In addition to security and Orange confrontation, the Garvaghy residents had to be protected from angry Orangemen, many of whom came from other areas of Northern Ireland, which resulted in Garvaghy residents again being barred from leaving their homes. Garvaghy Residents (1999 p.97) speak out on the future of Orange parades on the Garvaghy Road:

(Teresa) ...guilt can be relieved when the victim speaks out and that's what this community is doing, telling the world what happened here. And if that is ignored



and the Orangemen are allowed to go on abusing us, then we will go on having a sense of inferiority.

(Visiting Researcher) But what if you took a more proactive step? You say you want the world to know what they have done to you and that it is no longer acceptable. They've hurt your community, but what if you said you would solve it without violence, wouldn't you be gaining the upper hand?

(Teresa) That would be an ideal scenario – if our community could say, 'Right, OK, we'll let you walk, but you must thank us and say you won't walk.' That might save everybody's dignity – but that simply isn't going to happen because we did that in '95 and they lied and called it a victory – they used it to abuse us again.

(Visiting Researcher) Isn't there some compromise that can be reached so that neither side feels they have lost?

(Joanna) The people here are willing to compromise. The GRRC has said it is not inconceivable that an Orange march will come down the road again – but they have to talk to us. That's the crux of the matter.

Residents of Portadown create their cultural landscape for several purposes: The landscapes serve as 1) historical reminders, 2) political statements, 3) warnings, 4) territorial markings, and 5) forms of either resistance or dominance. Many of the different types of landscape creations contain a combination of purposes, most particularly that of territorial marking. All of these forms are heavy with symbolism and political ideology. (Chapter 5 contains a detailed analysis of cultural landscape typology.)

The resulting landscapes have profound effects upon the community. They maintain a social and geographical division between Portadown residents, by displaying spatial boundaries based upon religion (which assumes political allegiance). These landscapes also indicate an imbalance of power between Catholic and Protestant in Portadown; Protestants have marked, and therefore must own the town center, as well as other areas that contain important services, such as the library and hospital. It is, perhaps, an unintended consequence, that the cultural landscape in Portadown increases tensions, rather than putting people in their place. Thus the cycle begins again, or perhaps continues on, wherein the cultural landscape is continually created, reacted

upon, and recreated again. The situation is somewhat different in Coleraine, where residents create a cultural landscape that is symbolic and political, but to a lesser extent than that of Portadown. The following chapter provides a means to compare Portadown to one community that is relatively peaceful.

## CHAPTER 4

### COLERAINE

“Not in this town, Deborah, no. Not in this town.” – Gloria

#### Site and Situation

The town of Coleraine, Northern Ireland is located in County Derry, on the River Bann, approximately five miles from the northern coast, and thirty-five miles east of Derry. The town grew up slowly, over hundreds of years around an old Celtic fort on the river Bann (now called Fort Sandel). Today, the population of the Coleraine District Council area, which includes Coleraine, Portrush, Portstewart, and the immediate rural area is 56,315, with around 30% Catholic and 70% Protestant. Most jobs in the area are service related, with some agriculture and industry. The tourism industry is steadily gaining strength as well. Unemployment levels in Coleraine are about 4.6%, in comparison with Derry at 7.1%, Belfast at 3.9%, and Portadown at 3.1% (PPRU 2002).

Williamite parades were held in Coleraine as early as July 1, 1778, which was in celebration of the Battle of the Boyne (Simms 1974). While there were problems with violence in the earliest parade events (Jarman 1997), for several generations now the Coleraine parades have been peaceful. Today, the Coleraine Orange Lodge hosts an annual July 12<sup>th</sup> parade in the town. According to my informants, there has never been a nationalist parade held in Coleraine, and indeed I have never come across a reference to one.

#### Orange Parade 1997

The July 12<sup>th</sup> festivities were several days away when I first noticed a change in the atmosphere around Coleraine. Until this point, my Protestant informants had been Irish – referring to themselves and their country as such, singing songs and telling tales of Irish lore.

Gradually, some more than others, became increasingly British in identity, their songs and stories becoming more rebellious and supportive of Orangeism and the Protestant faith as the twelfth approached.

I met with Séan, who lives up the street from Kenny and Gloria, and his friends Derek and Tommy, on July 9<sup>th</sup> for an evening out. Eventually the discussion turned to the upcoming twelfth parade, which they called the “Twelfth Holiday.” When asked if they were excited, as they appeared to be, the answer was an emphatic, “yes!”

(Séan) I’ve time off work. We’re shut down for the holiday.

(Deborah) Do you plan to watch the parade?

(Séan) No. I’ll have a lie in. Doesn’t happen often.

(Derek) Aye. I usually walk down and have a look. I know some of the fellas in the bands. Good, they are.

(Tommy) Then later...(Tommy grins at the others.)

(Derek) We’re for the club. Sure you’re welcome to join. Good craic [fun], it’ll be.

This type of response to the twelfth holiday is in marked contrast to that found among Catholics in Portadown, who become increasingly anxious as the date approaches, and would never dream of participating in any way but in opposition (Garvaghy Residents 1999; Caldwell 2001).

Each Sunday prior to the twelfth of July, which in this case fell on the 6<sup>th</sup>, Boyne anniversary Presbyterian Church services are held. Gloria, who is not a regular church attendee, insisted that she and I go, for “your research,” she informed me. The interior of the church was plain and somber, with straight wooden pews facing the back wall, red carpet throughout, geometrically designed stained glass windows, and a simple altar in the rear of the church. The service consisted of readings of biblical passages to a silent congregation, interspersed with

hymns sung by the congregation. Attendance was rather small, with mostly local Orangemen present in suit, tie, and sash. Those few Orangemen I knew personally nodded at me, however the looks I received from many of the others were openly hostile. I was not sure if this was due to the fact that I was one of few women present, or for other reasons. I was relieved when the service was over, and I could head back to Portadown, much to the dismay of Gloria and Kenny. Gloria was upset about the situation in Portadown, as she had been watching things unfold on the BBC news broadcasts. However, she didn't go to Portadown in support of Orangemen there as she had said repeatedly the last few days that she would, and indeed, she never again mentioned doing so.

The next evening [July 7<sup>th</sup>] we went to Gloria's mother's house to check on it, for her mother is in a nursing home. While there, the neighbor from next door stopped to remind Gloria and Kenny to hang a British flag in front of the house. He reminded them that the year before he had been beaten "by thugs" (Protestant) for not hanging a flag in front of his house. Kenny informed me while he hung the flag, that thugs from the neighborhood could very well vandalize the house if he did not do so. This was a neighborhood with many flags hanging (British), and curbstones and street lamps painted Union Jack colors (Figure 4.37). For most of the town, including Gloria and Kenny's neighborhood, this is not the case.

The twelfth holiday in Coleraine began on the 11<sup>th</sup> of July, an account of which I detailed in the introductory chapter. The morning of 12 July 1997 was sunny and warm and carried an air of excitement and anticipation. Sporadic drum and pipe music could be heard coming from the Orange Hall as spectators walked to the parade route that snaked through the center of Coleraine town (Figure 4.38). None of the bickering and harsh words that spilled from the pubs with the patrons at closing time from the previous evening's celebrations remained (Figure 4.39).



Figure 4.37: Curbstone painting, Coleraine, 1997.

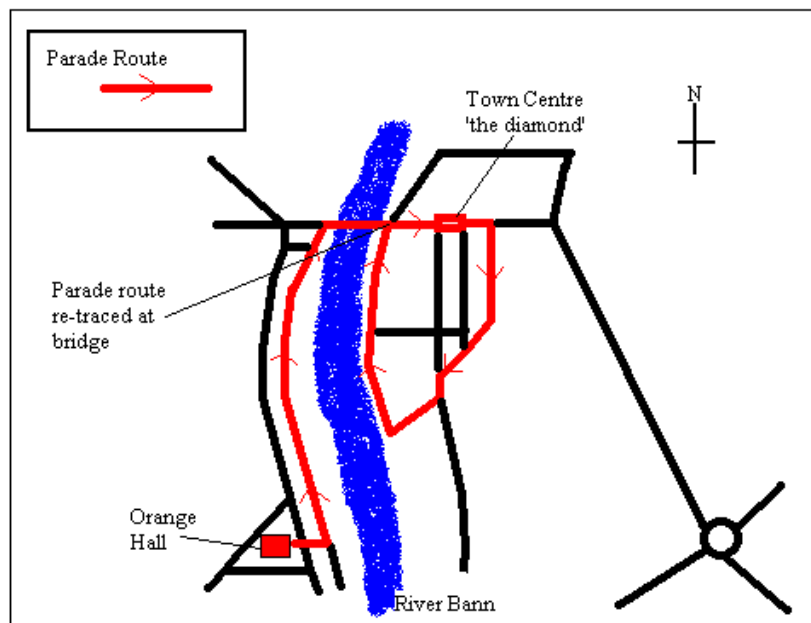


Figure 4.38: Coleraine Orange parade route, 1997.

The Coleraine Twelfth of July Orange parade (Figures 4.40-4.43) is small in comparison with the same Portadown parade (see Chapter 3), with only a few hundred people marching (rather just walking), and about twice that watching. The majority of banners displayed in the parade (12/17) were of Prince William of Orange on his white horse, however there were also banners of historical figures, biblical scenes, and one of Jesus and his flock. The uniforms worn by the marchers varied: The Orangemen wore suits and ties, with their orange sashes, and some wore bowler hats and white gloves as well. One group of Orangemen, the “Invincible True Blues,” wore blue sashes rather than orange. Several young boys walked in the parade wearing orange sashes. Many of the Orangemen had extra duties: they carried banners and Ulster or Union Jack flags, or carried and played the very large lambeg drums. It is said that King William’s soldiers introduced the drum to Ireland, and it has become a traditional instrument in Orange parades. The marching band (drum and pipe) members all wore uniforms of blue and white, some with orange piping, ties, or armbands. Absent was the “blood and thunder” and “kick the pope” drumming that my informants tell me is present at other Orange parades. This type of drumming is customary with bands that are associated with loyalist paramilitary groups, and consists of incredibly loud pounding, in repetitious patterns, which are often described as threatening (Santino 2001). The tunes (without words sung) played on fife or flute, accordion, cymbal, and drum were of the popular Williamite/Unionist variety, and were played at a comfortable volume. “The Sash my Father Wore” (see Chapter 1) is a favorite tune, as is the following:

#### The Bright Orange Banner

When William landed from the main,  
And waved the Orange Standard round



Rejoicing millions formed his train,  
And Popish tyrants bit the ground.  
Hail! Thou bright colour! Triumphant banner wave!  
O'er Papal ruins, And rebellion's grave.

The First bright morning in July,  
Our brilliant ensign fluttering stream'd  
Ten thousand voices rent the sky,  
And conquering William's falchion gleamed.  
Hail! Thou bright colour! Triumphant banner wave!  
O'er Papal ruins, and rebellion's grave.

The war steed of our gallant Prince  
Neigh'd proudly to the trumpet's sound;  
So fair a sight has not been since  
That stately charger paw'd the ground.  
Hail! Thou bright colour! Triumphant banner wave!  
O'er Papal ruins, and rebellion's grave.

Onward he bore his precious load,  
Appall'd the apostate rebels fled,  
Onward the church's champion rode,  
The Orange Standard o'er his head.  
Hail! Thou bright colour! Triumphant banner wave!  
O'er Papal ruins, and rebellion's grave.

The Priesthood fell-Revellion howl'd  
Our conquering banner waved on high;  
The superstition dying scowled,  
And truth unfetter'd burst the sky.  
Hail! Thou bright colour! Triumphant banner wave!  
O'er Papal ruins, and rebellion's grave.

Spectators gathered from all over town and were mostly Protestant, but with some Catholics as well. I did not see Séan or his friends, but several of the Catholics from the neighborhood I lived in were present. A few hundred people turned up to watch the parade from the sidelines all along the route, and all were local residents. They were respectful, some were excited, and others seemed a bit bored. Many called and waved to friends and relatives marching in the parade, as well as to other spectators. The parading participants, whether Orangemen

marching in file or musicians marching with their bands, were dignified and apparently proud of their roles. When spectators called out to passing marchers by name, some nodded or smiled, while some did not respond at all. Even the young boys managed to maintain a dignified air.

After the parade, the celebrations continued late into the night, with much the same revelry as the night before. Within a few days, Gloria, as well as the rest of the town, had calmed down and all was back to normal.

#### Ethnographic Data

I met Gloria and Kenny in the summer of 1997 when I first visited Coleraine. I was looking for a new place to stay, as the owners of my first billet were not much interested in any kind of conversation with me. When I met Kenny and Gloria, much by chance, they apologized for the unfriendliness I had experienced in Coleraine, and took me in to their home and family, introduced me to their friends and associates, and showed me much of their town and the surrounding area. We spent many a night discussing their experiences and feelings of life in Coleraine, and in Northern Ireland as a whole. Gloria's father, who died of old age, was an Orangemen, and perhaps it is for that reason, she is somewhat more Orange than many with regard to her speech and behavior. Although Kenny's father, also deceased, was a veteran of the British armed forces and a member of the British Legion, he tends to be much more open to discussion of sectarian divisions in Northern Ireland. In Coleraine, there are some few "hardliners," as Gloria and Kenny would call them, on both Protestant and Catholic sides, who would like to have (but not necessarily make) trouble in the town. I have gotten the impression from all the people I have met in Coleraine, that Gloria and Kenny are close to the norm for the area, and therefore I choose to tell their story.



Figure 4.39: Lads walking to parade, Coleraine, 1997.



Figure 4.40: Coleraine arch, 1997.



Figure 4.41: Orange parade, Coleraine, 1997.





Figure 4.42: Orange parade, Coleraine, 1997.



Figure 4.43: Orange parade, Coleraine, 1997.

Gloria and Kenny first became aware of political tensions in the 1960s when the civil rights movement began.

(Deborah) When did you first learn of tensions in Northern Ireland?

(Kenny) '69.

(Gloria) When the troubles started. I was brought up not knowing nothin'.

(Deborah) Before that you never heard anything?

(Kenny) Never. '69 was the first people started realizing there was trouble.

(Gloria) And then I think it started at Derry and then all over.

(Kenny) You heard about the troubles around the town, but never at school.

(Deborah) History lessons?

(Kenny) No. These people existed, but I was never told about it in the house, by my mother and father.

(Gloria) Like I brought the children up – they were brought up by mixed denomination. When I brought them up I advised them – no, I told them – to play with everybody. I didn't bring them up with, "you must do this, you must do that."

(Kenny) No "you can't play with her, she's a Catholic, you can't play with her, she's a Jew."

(Gloria) That didn't happen.

(Deborah) Does that kind of thing happen though?

(Gloria) Oh, it does.

(Kenny) Most people now, where all this trouble is in Derry and Belfast, that's where the majority is...it's been going on a long time, and they can't really change that now. And the generation – you take somebody who was born in 1960 in that area – that's all they know. They were nine years of age when the troubles started and that's all they've known...the killings and the bombings and the hatred. We didn't grow up with that.

According to Gloria and Kenny, they were raised in much the same way they have raised their children.

(Kenny) There are mixed marriages. When I grew up I would say two-thirds of my friends were Catholics. There's never been any trouble around here. Well, you had bad people who didn't think that way. But I didn't know any of that when I was growin' up. Nobody mentioned religion.

(Gloria) All my friends – well, the people I thought was good people – were Roman Catholics.

(Kenny) The firm that I worked with in Belfast, on the Falls road, they employed 800 and some people, and there was 15 of them Protestants. And I drove up there to make a pick up, and nobody ever said, "boo" to me. It was the same wherever I



went. Nobody ever mentioned religion. No one ever asked you what you were. Nobody never said nothin' to ya. It's only recently...

(Gloria) since the troubles started...

(Kenny) since the troubles started in '69 and they started bombin' and people started ta...But the people I grew up with – we're still friends.

Until the Civil Rights movement began, Coleraine and the surrounding area had been peaceful and safe. Crime was virtually nonexistent, political tensions minimal, and religious affiliation not an issue (keeping in mind that this viewpoint is Protestant in a town of Protestant majority).

(Gloria) I was in Derry in '69 in a band when the troubles started. I was playin' a flute in a flute band. They was throwin' bricks, and when we come back to Coleraine, this side of town here, there was a lot of the Roman Catholics that day takin' it – bringin' it from Derry. They were standin' with rotten eggs and tomatoes and stones and they were firin' at us when we come to Coleraine. So, it just shows ya.

(Deborah) What was the reaction in the town?

(Kenny) Nobody bothered. They just passed a few stones, kids and that.

(Gloria) It was over after that. It was a sad day when the troubles started.

Even though the times have changed, Coleraine is still considered safe, especially in comparison with other places, such as Belfast or even the United States, according to Kenny.

(Kenny) The police don't bother with problems. If somebody annoys you or hassles you, ah..., let it be known...a confidential telephone call is made...and next thing, this guy's in hospital.

(Gloria) Paramilitaries.

(Kenny) That's why you have to be very careful what you say to people, and what you do...Before this there used to be a lot of fights in bars, every night. Now there aren't many fights in bars 'cause these hard men, they're just beatin' up whoever they like. You can't afford to do it now because this guy could just let it be known, say...People don't want it [trouble] here. 99% of the people in this town don't want any bother, but there's that 1% that do want bother, but they're afraid too because of the other 99%. When you go down to the Falls Road [Belfast] it's not 99%. It's probably 52% that don't want any bother and the rest of 'em do want problems.

Gloria and Kenny met, married, and began raising a family just as the Civil Rights movement was beginning, and found themselves for the first time seriously contemplating leaving Northern Ireland.

(Gloria) I wanted to leave...Australia, Canada, New Zealand...I says, "I think we should, if we want to make a life for ourselves, and a life for our children, as much as I love this country".

(Kenny) At that time you could emigrate for a tenner [£10].

(Gloria) Small fee. And you could be away. And if it wasn't for the fact that I love my country...Many people left. D. went to Canada. A lot of people our age group got out.

(Kenny) Not a big lot.

(Gloria) They didn't get out for themselves, they got out for their families. Because they had children. A lot of people got out for a bit of holiday, but I was goin' for a life for my children. I knew something was goin' ta happen – I had the feeling in my mind that the troubles was goin' ta get worse. And I thought, go away and have the children reared and let the children make their own mind up. "Do you want to go back?" I would have come back. My roots lie here. I would definitely go back to Coleraine Town.

(Kenny) But I wouldn't go. You couldn't just fly there. Ya had to go by boat. And a lot of these guys went just for the trip. And then they come back home and stay here and then after that...But I said to meself, now if I go to Australia and the kids grown in Australia...I knew that I'll not stick it, cause there's no way I would stay there. Twenty-five years, ten years...till the kids are grown up...they're not goin' ta want to go home. That's their home. And if I wanted to go home I'd have to leave them. So I said to meself, I'm not goin' ta put myself in that position. The kids would be Australians.

Gloria and Kenny stayed in Coleraine and have not regretted it. Most of the trouble remained distant, and only on occasion hit close to home.

(Kenny) There was never anybody shot in Coleraine. There's a pub in Coleraine, on New Market Street, that was a UVF pub, where all their meetings were held. The boys from Belfast come down and recruited all these guys...

(Gloria) They recruited half of them through drink, getting' 'em drunk, young fellas. Terrible.

(Kenny) Got them drunk and swore them in, and then when they realized what they done...

(Gloria) The IRA too works that way. That's how his [Kenny's] brother got involved in it [UVF]. On both sides, IRA and UVF. It's not as ripe as it was, but it's still goin' on.

(Kenny) They're here. They're not gonna go away either, so they're not. There was a bomb in Coleraine, in the city centre. 500 lbs. That's a small bomb. The street was leveled, and the town hall roof lifted four inches. Did ya see the war memorial? At the diamond? That was 15 yards from the Bank of Ireland. The bank had to be completely demolished and rebuilt. Stores along there...same story. There was no people killed that day, they called in a warnin' and the whole place was cleared. There was a pub, about 50 yards away and that's where we were sittin'. Were you there Gloria?

(Gloria) I was out that night Kenny. Remember, you were lookin' for me.

(Kenny) Me and my friend were sittin' in the pub anyway. Cops come in and says, "You have to leave." You know, so we sat on...we still had a pint to finish. And it was only eight o'clock, with a pint yet. So then he says, "There's a bomb, sittin' 50 yards from here at the Bank of Ireland." That's where it was sittin'. So we took the pint with us and went down and stood on the street. There was a whole big crowd, everybody standin'...Nothing happened, so we said, "Oh, the hell with it." So we went to another pub and we sat at the counter and said, "Give us two pints," and the bomb went off. It blew me against the counter...blew everybody outta their seats...everybody, just blown to the ground.

On an earlier occasion, June 12, 1973 Kenny heard an explosion in Coleraine all the way from Portrush, which is less than ten miles distant. He was on the scene within minutes, looking for Gloria and their young daughter who were supposed to be shopping there along Railway Road. Kenny described the scene, yet these many years later his recollections are too disjointed and emotional for much sense to be made of them. Six people died that day, and according to Kenny, many more would have died had the explosion occurred only ten minutes later, after the nearby school let out. Kenny informed me that no warning was ever given, however according to Sutton (1994), the warning was issued too late to allow for evacuation. The reason for the bombings in Coleraine, and the subsequent results were thus given:

(Deborah) Why do you think they put a bomb here in town anyway?

(Kenny) They brought it here 'cause there's no trouble here. That's what I think. People, Catholic and Protestant live well together here, and there's no trouble. So they said, "lets get them against each other". And that's the way they work. And that's just on the one side. The UVF, they hadn't the technology to plant the

bombs, but the IRA had. And that's it, just kill as many as you can. They let a bomb off about two times a week.

(Gloria) It was a sad day.

(Kenny) What I don't understand, they got 400 years [sentence] and 4 years later she [one of the bombers] took ill in prison. Not that she was goin' to die, but she was ill, so they decided to let her out. That really makes me sick, you know. Six people were killed on the spot, and the girl in the hairdressin' shop there, she was 20 years of age, and six weeks later she committed suicide. She went up to the river and just jumped in...But many, there were a number of people who never got the better of it. People who are still ill with it. Won't go out the house, or won't go down the street. Just sit in their houses. There's maybe 20 or 30 [of them].

According to Gloria and Kenny, there isn't much by way of religious segregation in Coleraine. Several years back a group of Catholics tried to block off their neighborhood and hang Irish flags, but the town wouldn't hear of it. Gloria and Kenny explained how this was prevented, and compare this situation with similar problems elsewhere in Northern Ireland, such as Portadown:

(Kenny) There used to be an estate here [housing], Churchill Park, and it was a mixed estate...2/3 Catholic and 1/3 Protestant. And this was where the bitter Catholics in the town ended up. Somehow or other all the really bitter people ended up in this estate...I think it was the Executive Council's fault. They started harassin' whatever Protestant were left and they had to get out. Anyway, it ended up 99% Catholic, and this is where all the trouble began. They wouldn't let the police come in...

(Gloria) There was bad people lived in it that stole and...

(Kenny) They [the Council] didn't want this to happen, so they took them out and re-housed them all over the place. These houses [Churchill Park] were only about 15 years old and they leveled them...just flattened the whole place. Great houses.

(Deborah) Why level them?

(Kenny) They had created a ghetto themselves...put all these guys in here and caused a bother. Same thing in Portadown on Garvaghy Road. They pushed all the Catholics into one area and the bother started then. In lots of towns they've done the same. Whether it was done deliberately or whatever, I don't know.

That's what I reckon happened with all these towns where the trouble stems from.

(Gloria) Money wasted. Just crazy!

Public housing arrangements are made by the Coleraine Executive Council, according to Gloria and Kenny. When a request for housing is received, the family is placed on a list, based on need, such as number of children. Each family may apply for first preference, however this is not always given. Many families opt for swapping with someone in their area of preference who wishes to move. Then the Council is simply notified of the change.

Walking around the town, and trying to detect neighborhood segregation is often difficult in Coleraine. While there are a few obviously Unionist/Protestant neighborhoods, as evidenced by flags hung in front of homes, and curbstone and street lamp painting, most neighborhoods are ambiguous. There might be some graffiti (threatening or paramilitary), or a British or Irish flag here and there, but few and far between (Figures 4.44-4.46). Most neighborhoods appear to be mixed, as my informants suggested. I asked several of my acquaintances in town about the existence of murals, as I hadn't located any. I was told that there were none, and never had been to anyone's recollection. However, Rolston (1991) documents a mural depicting "King Billy" on his white horse, with Union Jack, the Ulster, and St. Andrew's flags appeared on a wall in the center of Coleraine as recently as the 1970s. Since this was the only such mural documented in Coleraine, and indeed the residents couldn't recall any murals, it would appear that mural painting never achieved popularity in Coleraine as it did elsewhere.

Like for neighborhoods, the same policy of not quite segregated holds for bars in Coleraine.

(Kenny) Thompson's – that's a Protestant bar. He sees anybody he knows is UVF, he won't let 'em in. Because he's not trying to be a Protestant bar.

(Gloria) It just is.

(Kenny) It just is because mostly Protestants go there, but there's Catholics go there too and nobody bothers them. He doesn't want it like that but can't really do



Figure 4.44: Coleraine graffiti, 1997.

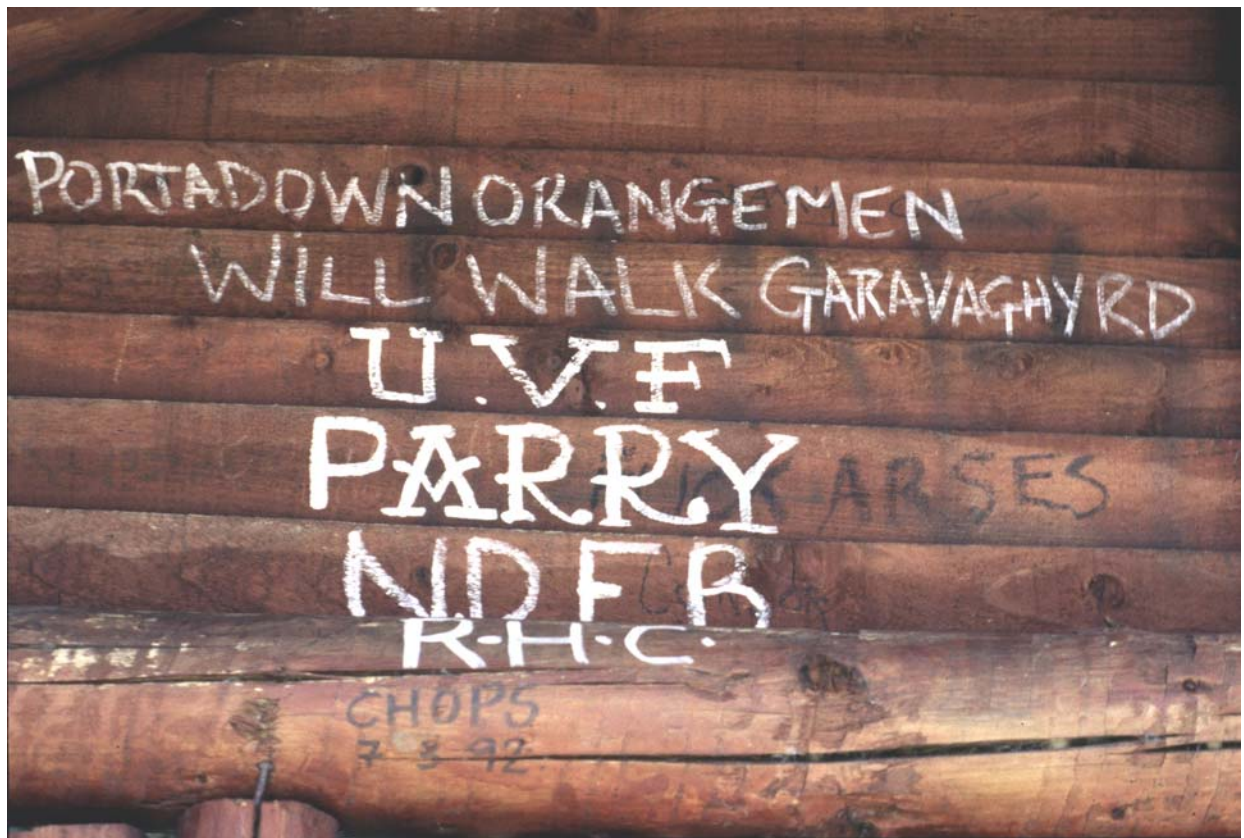


Figure 4.45: Coleraine graffiti, 1997.





Figure 4.46: Coleraine graffiti, 1997.





Figure 4.47: Protestant church flying British flag, Coleraine, 1997.



Figure 4.48: Coleraine neighborhood, 1997.



Figure 4.49: Coleraine neighborhood, 1997.

anything about it. If he knows they're UVF or whatever, he just tells 'em, "I don't want ya in here." They've tried to go there quite a few times.

(Deborah) Do you think most bars in Coleraine are like that? Predominantly one or the other?

(Gloria and Kenny) No. Not really.

(Kenny) The Castle Bar down there – that's a Protestant bar but its predominantly Catholic.

(Deborah) So it doesn't matter who owns it?

(Gloria) It's just where it is. You could go into the Castle Bar and nobody would bother you, but 99% of the people in it are Catholics.

(Gloria) Captain's Bar's the same way. All Catholics.

(Kenny) No. Captain's Bar is a mixed bar.

(Gloria) Years ago, but its nearly all Catholics now.

(Kenny) The Porterhouse – mixed. But you can...nobody will bother you. Them two there, the Castle Bar and Captain's Bar, and Tommy Thompson's, that's the only three you could say the majority's one or the other. These guys don't none of them want that. Its not designed that way. It's just the way it come about. They use that bar more than any other bar. Of course, all the rest of the bars in town – they're all mixed anyways. When I was [working] there was 52 pubs in this town. Know how many there's now?

(Gloria and Kenny) Less than half.

However, the situation in bars may not be as calm as Gloria and Kenny say, for, although I never suffered any serious problems, I did observe tensions to arise. I had been sitting in the back room of Thompson's bar with an ex-UVF informant, where the younger crowd usually gather around the pool tables, and when I got up to leave I was stopped by one group of young men. This was our conversation:

(Man 1) Who are you here with? You're an American, right?

(Deborah) That's right. I'm here with [Kenny and Gloria's surname].

(Man 1) How do you know [UVF informant]?

(Deborah) Some friends introduced us.

(Man 2) Are you a Catholic or a Protestant?

(Deborah) Neither.

(Man 3) Can't be.

The young men were hostile throughout this conversation, and I ended up walking away before they were finished with me, to the sound of laughter and mumbled insults. On another occasion, also at Thompson's bar, one couple explained to me how they, a mixed Catholic and Protestant couple, handle such situations:

(She) You're an American?

(Deborah) Yes. A student.

(She) You must know someone here?

(Deborah) I'm here with friends.

(He) We won't ask you if you're Catholic or Protestant.

(She) No. It doesn't matter to us. He's a Catholic and I'm Protestant. And when people ask us, like when we come to Thompson's or someplace like this, we answer, "I'm a Hindu. Or I'm Jewish".

(He) [Laughing] And then they ask, "are you a Protestant Hindu or a Catholic Hindu?"

(She) But it's usually not a problem. We come here all the time for the dances. Though most people here are Protestants.

I replied that my usual response to such a question, is that my father is Catholic and my mother Protestant. Depending on the company, I will get either a nod, or a narrow-eyed stare. It isn't an answer really. All the same, the question itself is dishonest, as it asks of your political sympathies about Northern Ireland rather than religion. I have learned over the years I've spent there, that for Northern Irelanders, being from the U.S. and being in Northern Ireland means you support the Nationalist cause. (And being Canadian is to support the Unionist cause.) If the question were stated more honestly, it would be "what are you, as an American, doing in this Protestant bar?"

Séan too had something to say on the subject of friendships and 'going out' in Coleraine.

(Deborah) How do you get on with Gloria and Kenny? I know you are of a different generation.

(Séan) Kenny's a good man. Gloria...she's a...character. [Winks at me] Most of the time she's all right. My da has known them for some time. We get along all right. Many of my friends are Protestants. At work and friends I grew up with.  
 (Deborah) Where do you hang out with these people?  
 (Séan) We go to clubs, for the dancin'. You like to dance? Or we go down to the pub.  
 (Deborah) I've never seen you at Thompson's, where Gloria and Kenny go.  
 (Séan) No. That's a Protestant bar. I don't go there. Could be trouble.  
 (Deborah) Such as?  
 (Séan) Some rough fellas there. They'd have somethin' to say.

Thus, it would seem that some people in Coleraine keep mixed company without problems, although care must be taken when so called hardliners are encountered. Yet it would seem that the Orange Order, even in Coleraine, would have the community separated by religion (thus politics):

(Kenny) When there's a funeral at St. John's Chapel [Roman Catholic Church], half the people in there are Protestants, and vice versa. There's as many Catholics as there is Protestants. The only people who'd not go into the chapel are...  
 (Gloria) Orangemen.  
 (Kenny) They'd go to the funeral, but they're not allowed to go into the chapel.  
 (Deborah) Why not?  
 (Kenny) Well, the Orange Lodge wouldn't let them attend a Catholic service.  
 (Gloria) The Orange Lodge, they take vows, and some of the vows...don't enter the Roman Catholic Church.  
 (Kenny) As far as they're concerned, [laughs] they're [Catholics] heretics, you know?

When Kenny was a child he attended school at the local Orange Hall. The students from his side of town were all taught in one large room and were of both Protestant and Catholic families. There are now separate schools in Coleraine for religious affiliation, as well as a mixed school. Gloria and Kenny's children, as well as their grandchild (who's father is Catholic), attend/ed a Protestant school. Gloria informed me that it was her school as a child, and that's why it was chosen for her family. In addition to schooling for the community when Kenny was young, the Orange Hall was also used for dances, in which the majority of the attendees were

Catholic. Thus, even though Orangemen in Coleraine must swear oaths of allegiance to the Protestant faith, it does not appear that this was strictly enforced in the distant past.

On the subject of parades, several days after the twelfth holiday, Gloria and Kenny had this to say:

(Deborah) What about parades? Are there any others that are held annually besides the twelfth parade?

(Kenny) There's one this Saturday [July 19, 1997] in Portstewart. That's more dignified. There's no blood and thunder bands like these others [referring to Portadown parade].

(Gloria) It's a more reserved parade.

(Kenny) They call 'em "kick the pope bands". These boys just batter the drums, hard as they can.

(Kenny) Royal Black Preceptory [Loyal Order with close ties to Orange Order]. It's a more religious [parade] and all the top bands, the really good bands play. None of these rough bands or UVF bands or nothin' like that.

(Deborah) Any others?

(Kenny) The Apprentice Boys. That's in August.

(Gloria) That's the 12<sup>th</sup> of August.

(Kenny) That's when they're closin' the gates of Derry before the siege.

(Gloria) They celebrate that as well.

(Kenny) Any excuse at all. There's not as many as there used to be. There used to be thousands. All the time.

(Deborah) No Catholic or Nationalist [parades]...

(Kenny) Oh, aye! The Catholics have their day.

(Gloria) The Catholics have their day too!

(Kenny) They hold them up in the Catholic towns. Although there's Protestants. They'd go to Rasharkin...there's brilliant bands that parade up the street.

(Deborah) No annual parades here that are Catholic or...

(Gloria) Not in this town, Deborah, no. Not in this town. No. Never has been a Roman Catholic, you mean, parade...

(Deborah) Or something associated with...

(Gloria) No.

(Deborah) Do people here go to these other towns to view these parades?

(Gloria) Oh aye. You know the 15<sup>th</sup> of August...there'll be a bus laid on, from Coleraine, for the people, the AOH, they call it. The Ancient Order of Hibernians. And they would leave Coleraine in the morning, same as the 12<sup>th</sup> of July in Portrush, and they would travel up to it. They'd travel to Rasharkin or...to their parade, and they have their day, same as the 12<sup>th</sup> of July. So they do.

(Deborah) Do you go?

(Gloria) No.

There is no twelfth holiday bonfire in Coleraine, nor is there a fireworks display. The closest place that has such festivities, my informants told me, was at Bushmills, which is a small hamlet located about 10 miles from Coleraine. My informants insisted that I skip this event. "It's for the young people, and there will be trouble," Kenny told me.

Kenny often shows disapproval of Gloria's anti-Catholic attitudes, as well as that of others in the town. He may not always speak this in words, but rather frustrated or angry behavior. In fact, he disapproves of parading, and suggested on more than one occasion that people use these commemorations as an excuse to drink and cause trouble. "I'm Irish," he informs me. "We all are, and people would do well to remember that." Gloria then insists that she is British, as were her ancestors, and Kenny can be whatever he likes. She expressed these sentiments only a short time after the twelfth holiday, so I brought the subject up again at a much later date:

(Deborah to Kenny) You mentioned that you're Irish, but that you have a British passport...and that you love your country and so on...Do you think that most people in this town feel that way? That they are Irish?

(Kenny) Most people feel that they're Irish but that they're part of Britain...

(Gloria) I'm Irish but I'm part of Britain.

(Kenny) You have your own identity, just like in Spain... Catalonians ...they're Spanish but they're Catalonians too. They don't want anything to do with Madrid. It's the same...like we're Irish, but we don't really want anything to do with Dublin. They're not really interested in us.

(Gloria) They're interested in...they can lift your money well enough. But they don't want anything to do with us as such.

(Kenny) They hold no allegiance to the Queen. They take her money, which is supplied to dole money and all, but...

(Deborah) Who are you talking about?

(Kenny) I'm talkin' about the Republican element in Northern Ireland. These guys on the dole who lift...

(Gloria) ...the Queen's money.

(Kenny) There's no principle. They want to be part of a united Ireland. I don't want to be part of a united Ireland. At least not at the minute.

(Gloria) But it will happen.



(Kenny) It will happen eventually. I've got nothin' against anybody down south. I go down and enjoy myself every year and it's brilliant, but I don't want to be run...I don't want to be told what to do by the Dublin government, because everything suits us and they'd change everything here.

(Gloria) When we have a survey or whatever here, and they ask you your nationality, I put down 'British'. I wouldn't put down 'Irish'. I'm British. And then if I was away to Greece or Spain and they say, "where you from?" I would say, "I'm Irish." I don't mind. I'm proud of sayin' I'm Irish.

(Deborah) What about these 'hardliners' in the town? What would they say?

(Gloria) Some people will just say, "I'm an Ulsterman."

(Kenny) The hardliners will say Ulster. But Ulster's not a province...part of Ulster's in the free state. If the troubles stop now, for a couple of years or whatever, if they get something sorted out...what'll happen here is we'll...we've got all this stuff on the pipeline, massive hotels and luxury hotels. There's not a five star hotel in Northern Ireland. Nobody's gonna build one, 'cause who's gonna come to it? If there was peace for a few years, two or three, and people feel good...people are startin' to realize that there's goin' to be peace here – there has to be peace here. This can't go on. People's had enough.

(Deborah) Will you stay? If Ireland is united?

(Kenny) Oh, aye! This is my home.

(Gloria is silent)

The people of Coleraine, including my informants, often said one thing and did another. For example, Gloria claimed to be friendly with Catholics, now and in the past, yet often used derogatory terms in describing them, such as "féinian bastard," which refers to them as Republican sympathizers. Tension and trouble is not as distant as they claim, as evidenced by my experiences with so called "thugs" in the pub, the fact that Séan, a Catholic, will not go to Protestant bars, and so called "hardliners" are not all that difficult to find in Coleraine. However, daily life in Coleraine appears to be much as it was described to me, and contrasts sharply with that experienced in Portadown.

Much of the ethnographic text contained throughout this document is in code, which would be unfamiliar to someone unacquainted with Northern Irish culture. In addition, several words and phrases are used repeatedly in the texts, and convey meanings that are unique to Northern Ireland. Likewise, the photographs portray a cultural landscape in Northern Ireland that

is rife with unique symbolic meaning, and impacts the way in which people interact with the landscape and with each other. Chapter 5 contains a detailed analysis of the ethnographic texts, and of each photograph, and a comparison between Portadown and Coleraine landscapes and attitudes.

## CHAPTER 5

### ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

#### Cultural Landscape

According to Barthes, the world we live in is full of signs, and we use these signifiers to express our values and to justify them, creating ideological landscapes that are full of meaning, and are appropriated by society. Individuals are readers of landscapes (as texts) as well as writers (1986). Therefore, the cultural landscape informs behavior and tells us who we are, and what our lives are about. A cultural landscape that contains political messages, such as those found throughout Northern Ireland, can shape the ways in which residents interact with the landscape and with one another. Table 5.3 provides a closer examination of the popular types of Northern Irish cultural landscapes, the ideological meanings attached to them, and the reactions of those residents who read the messages contained in them.

Table 5.3: Typology of Northern Irish Cultural Landscapes

	<u>Graffiti</u>	<u>Curb paint</u>	<u>Murals</u>	<u>Parades</u>
<u>Location</u>	Within and along territorial boundaries Any surface	Within neighborhoods and claimed space Includes lamp posts	Within and along territorial boundaries Large walls or gable ends	Routes through 'other' territories Temporary landscape
<u>Purpose</u>	*Warning	Display national pride and political allegiance	Memorialize history and culture of a group	Commemorate and/or demonstrate
<u>Author</u>	Youths	Neighborhood project	Usually youth group project	Community (political) organized
<u>Audience</u>	Mostly trespassers	Neighborhood and trespassers	Neighborhood and trespassers	Entire town or city (and international community)
				(Table Con't.)

<u>Symbolism</u>	Culturally specific semantics	Semiotic use of color	Combination of culturally specific semantics and semiotics	Combination of culturally specific semantics and semiotics
<u>Symbolic Meanings</u>	**Gaelic or Republican words or slang = Irish Paramilitary affiliations	***Colors of British flag = British	****Gaelic = Irish Militant, cultural, or combination of both	*****Orange and British flag colors = British Green and colors of Irish flag = Irish
<u>Reactions</u>	Divides and provokes	Divides Brings pride	Divides and provokes Brings pride	Divides and provokes Brings pride

\* Some graffiti includes the consequences of ignoring warnings, such as “touts [informers] will be Got.” Graffiti that contains only abbreviations, such as “IRA”, carry the unwritten consequence of paramilitary threat. It should be noted that Northern Ireland does not suffer from a lack of ‘fun’ graffiti (see Figure 5.50).

\*\* The use of Gaelic words is commonly found in nationalist and Republican cultural landscapes, but is not always present. Gaelic is never used by unionists or loyalists in the creation of cultural landscapes, although I have heard unionists speak the word “craic” (a good time).

\*\*\* Curbstone and lamp post painting are specifically unionist and loyalist activities.

\*\*\*\* Again, Gaelic is common, particularly in cultural murals, but need not be present. By cultural I mean murals that contain a specifically historical message, as opposed to one that refers to paramilitary activity. A militant mural may also contain symbolism that is historical. Either way, the message is political, as it indicates either British or Irish nationalism.

\*\*\*\*\* Parades and parade routes contain a multitude of symbolic messages. The types of flags, banners, uniforms, music, route decorations, and marching styles displayed depend upon which group is on parade. Table 5.4 provides some examples of banners carried by each group. The following section contains detailed descriptions of landscape symbolism and human/landscape interaction for all Table 5.3 landscape types.

Residents of Northern Ireland intentionally invest their landscapes with ideological messages; signs and symbols that reflect their historical, religious, political, and cultural values, are used to denote group territory, to remind citizens of their rights and responsibilities, and to warn, threaten, or simply anger other groups. In this chapter I will examine Northern Irish landscape ideology in comparison with that found in Portadown and Coleraine.



Figure 5.50: Graffiti, Derry, 1999.

Table 1.1, in the first chapter showed that a much greater number of Loyal Order parades than nationalist parades are held each year, thus the tally of images found on banners (Table 5.4) can be somewhat misleading. What the table shows is that the most popular banner image in Orange parades is of King William, while the most popular images on nationalist banners are religious figures and icons.

Table 5.4: Composite of Main Images found on Parade Banners (Jarman 1997)

<u>Images</u>	<u>Orange Order 1990-96</u>	<u>Nationalist 1992-95</u>
Williamite	221	N/A
Maid of Erin	N/A	13
Britain	35	N/A
Religion	147	45
Local Places	60	6
History	63	20
Misc. Portraits	43	N/A
Misc. Symbols	N/A	5

According to Rolston (1991), the painting of unionist wall murals has been a tradition longer than Northern Ireland has been in existence. Belfast's first wall mural was painted in 1908, and contained the figure of King Billy. For almost 80 years, wall murals were painted by adults, and they contained the same imagery; King William, the Battle of the Boyne, and the Red Hand of Ulster. By the mid-1980's, images were being painted by youths, portraying armed struggle, complete with weapons, uniformed volunteers, and paramilitary slogans and paraphernalia. On May 1, 1981, nationalists began painting wall murals that contained both cultural and paramilitary symbolism. Republican prisoners began a hunger strike on this day, in an attempt to force Britain into giving them status and privilege as political prisoners, rather than the treatment of common criminals (Collins 1986).

Therefore, with regard to mural painting, we see a division in types of symbolism used based upon political aspiration. Nationalist murals contain historical and religious symbolism, while Republican murals may include the same, yet with paramilitary symbolism. Unionist murals contain historical symbolism, almost exclusively that of King William and the Battle of the Boyne, while loyalist murals exclusively contain paramilitary symbolism. Thus, even though murals serve as territorial markers, it is also possible to read these murals in the landscape as political texts; messages that remind residents of their history, what their political aspirations should be, and how to achieve those political goals. All the other types of ideological landscapes found in Northern Ireland, such as graffiti, curb painting, and parading, serve the same purpose.

Table 5.5: Composite of Main Images Found on Murals 1993-99.

<u>Images</u>	<u>Loyalist</u>	<u>Nationalist</u>
Williamite	1	0
Flags/flag colors	2	6
Local Places	0	3
Portraits	0	3
History	0	6
Paramilitary	12	3
Celtic Designs	0	3
Misc. Symbols	*12	**10
<u>Total Murals</u>	10	15
* Red hand of Ulster (8) and Royal crown		
** Repetitions of prison scenes, doves, the starry plough, phoenix rising, and RUC brutality		

The photographic data included in this research project contains a plethora of symbolism, and a decoding and reading of each landscape is necessary. Therefore, the following section contains a detailed description of each photograph, with regard to location, symbolic content, message, and community reaction.

## Photographic Data

Figure 1.3 was taken in Derry's nationalist Bogside in the summer of 1993. The children standing in front of the mural wanted their picture taken by the American tourist, and ran to pose when I agreed to their request. The mural was painted on the backside of a house inside the neighborhood. Therefore it is not visible from the walled city, and one must venture into the Bogside to see this mural. The intended audience is most likely those living nearest it, and possibly any security personnel that patrol the area. The message contained in the mural is a reminder that security forces in Northern Ireland kill innocent nationalist citizens, such as local resident Sean Downes, who is remembered on this mural.

According to my nationalist informants, plastic bullets were designed for crowd control during riots and violent demonstrations. The bullet is supposed to be shot toward the ground in front of the crowd, which would then bounce into the crowd causing minimal injury. When shot directly at a person, as has been done on many occasions in Northern Ireland, plastic bullets can cause serious injury or death. By painting a violent scene, with a faceless (without personality) gunman/executioner with weapon and a portrait of the deceased, the mural warns the community of the danger, while making it known to the security forces that they are considered murderers.

Most nationalist murals in Northern Ireland that contain human figures as subject material use portraits of persons known to the community. Since the subject of Figure 1.4 is an historical event, this mural portrays the struggle for survival of nameless faceless millions that died during the mid 1800s potato famine. The text contained in the mural – "Britain's genocide by starvation" – leaves the reader with no doubt as to whom the community feels is responsible for 1.5 million Irish deaths, and in fact compares Britain's actions with Nazi Germany's extermination of its Jewish population. The mural incorporates a Celtic design, in this case



around the edge, which is common among nationalist murals. Celtic designs are associated with Irishness, and are therefore a symbol of Irish national identity. Likewise, to be Irish means to speak (or write) in Gaelic, thus the use of Gaelic words and phrases, such as “An Gorta Mór”, which translates to “The Great Famine”, identifies the artists and the neighborhood as Irish.

The mural is found along the outside edge of a west Belfast nationalist community, in such a position that anyone driving along the main thoroughfare would see it. Therefore, this mural is public rather than the somewhat private “plastic death” (Figure 1.3) mural. Belfast is the intended audience. The nationalist is reminded of a wrong done to their ancestors, while the British are accused of wrongdoing (as are loyalists through guilt by association).

The 1916 Easter Rising, in which Irish rebels sought independence from Great Britain, is remembered in Figure 1.5 as the event that led to partition and the creation of Northern Ireland. The mural suggests that nationalists consider this rebellion to be ongoing, which brings fear to British and Loyalist. The Starry Plough was a flag used by the Irish Citizen Army (ICA), a small paramilitary organization formed by trade union leaders in the early 1900’s. The ICA took part in the 1916 rebellion, thus their flag has become one of the symbols for Irish rebellion ([atlasgeo.span.ch/fotw/flags/ie-stpl.html](http://atlasgeo.span.ch/fotw/flags/ie-stpl.html)). A mural in rural County Tyrone (Figure 5.51) contains the Starry Plough on a blue background, alongside rising flames. The 1916 mural also incorporates a phoenix rising from the ashes, which is another popular symbol in nationalist murals. They compare their struggle for independence, in which they are beaten down but always rise up again, to the fiery rebirth of the phoenix. As with the mural in Figure 1.4, this mural was painted along the outside edge of a west Belfast nationalist community, although on a less traveled road. Belfast is again the intended audience.



Figure 5.51: Starry Plough mural, County Tyrone, 1993

Also located in a west Belfast nationalist community, the mural found in Figure 6 combines several different symbolic elements: The Irish Tricolour flag, associated with Irish national identity; the flame of rebirth similar to that in Figure 5.5; and the Irish Republican Army. The volunteers of the “2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion” of the “Belfast Brigade” are no doubt from this neighborhood, and are described as “Freedom’s Sons”. Since most murals in Northern Ireland are painted by youths, often under the guidance of an adult, it is not surprising that this one glamorizes the IRA. Most, if not all, of the nationalists that I have met in Northern Ireland are supportive of the IRA, even if they are not directly involved with the organization.

During my earliest visits to Northern Ireland I did not have access to Protestant neighborhoods. This was due to the fact that tensions were still very high during my 1993 and 1995 visits, and also because my Republican informants would never allow me to venture out of their territory. Whether or not I would have met with violence, had I walked through Protestant areas, I’ll never know. This explains why I have fewer photographs of murals in Protestant neighborhoods, and why only one contains a mural of William of Orange and the Battle of the Boyne, which, according to Rolston (1991) is a popular image on unionist murals. Figure 1.7 shows two murals, painted side by side, along the main street running through a Belfast neighborhood. One contains an image of Prince William on his horse at the Boyne, and soldiers standing alongside, while the other is a more militant mural with “UFF” and “UDA” imagery, including a large gun, the British crown, and two Red Hands. The paramilitary imagery and the crown tells us that this is a Loyalist neighborhood, with allegiance to Britain. The story behind the Red Hand of Ulster, bits of which I had heard spoken on several occasions, is a bit more complex. Accordingly, I asked Kenny, my Coleraine informant, to repeat it for me:

These two guys, they were fightin' over who would be King of Ulster. O'Neill and the other. And the deal was...see they started racin' for the coast, and deal was, whoever touched Ireland first was the King of Ulster. So O'Neill, he realized he was about to lose, so he cut off his hand and tossed it on shore. It's red 'cause of the blood. And he won the race, so he was king. Very old tale, that is.

The bloody hand version is a popular one, however others have told me that the Red Hand has biblical significance, and that it is used as a symbol for British Unionism because it implies that God decreed that Northern Ireland be part of the British Kingdom. None of my informants, however, could give me the biblical references, which I eventually found via the World Wide Web (<http://green.carisenda.com/niflag>).

Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power: thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy. Exodus 15:6  
O Sing unto the Lord a new song; for he hath done marvelous things: his right hand, and his holy arm, hath gotten him the victory. Psalm 98:1

The biblical passages suggest victory achieved through violent means, thus the Red Hand used in conjunction with Loyalist paramilitary imagery is fitting. The Web page also tells of the bloody hand tale, as an event that may or may not have taken place in 1015 B.C.

Since both of these murals are found within the neighborhood, it is unlikely that they were intended for viewing by anyone other than local residents, and any trespassers who may venture into the area. The more militant of the two suggests that we, the viewers, are being watched, and that violent confrontation is a possibility.

The photograph containing graffiti in Figure 1.8 was taken in Derry's Bogside. It was written on the side of a house within the neighborhood, suggesting that the intended viewers are local residents. Likewise, the message: "Touts [informers] will be Got," is intended to warn

locals not to give information to the security forces. “Got” means “executed,” a consequence of informing that all local residents are fully aware of.

Although there have been some improvements in housing for Catholics, they had long suffered discrimination by being forced to live in substandard ghettos (Hewitt 1985; de Baroid 1989; Kenney 1991; Garvaghy Residents 1999). Figure 1.9 shows a rooftop view of part of the nationalist New Lodge neighborhood of north Belfast. Several homes along these streets were boarded-up, and all, including those lived in, show evidence of disrepair. For example, the second-floor bath crashed into the first-floor kitchen in the home I stayed in while I visited during the summer of 1995. The Figure 1.9 photograph was taken from my third-floor room during that visit.

The Figure 1.10 photograph was taken at dusk, at the end of the street in the New Lodge. Each evening, my hosts informed me, young boys from the neighborhood erect a barricade at this entrance to the neighborhood, using whatever debris they can find. This barricade is supposed to prevent access to the neighborhood by RUC and British Troops during the night. An armored vehicle sits running at the top of the street, although this is not discernable in the photograph. The boys are indoors by dark, and their barricade removed, presumably by the RUC, by morning. Since the boys did not know that I was living in the neighborhood, they threw bricks at me when I tried to take this photograph. I had to go home first and request an introduction from my host before the photograph was permitted. This activity on the part of young boys indicates that they too are taking part in creating a landscape that marks territory, and prevents (or attempts to prevent) trespass. The presence of the RUC up the street did not daunt them, but rather appeared to encourage them.

The presence of security forces and their paraphernalia (Figures 1.11-1.17), including uniforms, weapons, armored vehicles, helicopters, barracks, and bunkers, remind citizens that Northern Ireland is at war. The Figure 1.11 photograph was taken at a small nationalist demonstration for all party peace talks in Belfast City Centre in 1995. The demonstrators (of whom there were about 50) attempted to sit in the road and stop traffic. They were forcibly removed by the RUC, and one man was severely beaten with batons when he struggled.

Figure 1.12 shows a British soldier on patrol along Falls Road area in Belfast. The British soldiers pictured in Figure 1.14 are searching vehicles at a Monaghan/Armagh border crossing. The bunker photograph in Figure 1.13 was also taken of this same border checkpoint. I passed through this checkpoint on board a bus, and we were waved through without hesitation. On another occasion, also in 1993, I passed through, by automobile, a similar checkpoint within County Tyrone. We were stopped by a British soldier, who then asked us our names, where we were coming from, and what our destination was. The driver of the car, a nationalist from the area, informed me that this checkpoint crossing was the fastest she had ever experienced, and that it was so because she had with her an American passenger. Usually her car is taken apart and searched, which explained why it rattled so loudly. She also informed me that the soldier who stopped us was not a soldier, but a local RUC man dressed as a British soldier.

It is illegal to take photographs of security forces, British Army Barracks, and Police Stations in Northern Ireland. I was told that were I caught taking such photographs, I could be arrested and accused of assisting terrorists, but that most likely I would only receive a reprimand, and have my camera and film confiscated. Therefore, when taking such photographs, I am usually very cautious. The Figure 1.15 photograph was taken as I entered the Bogside in Derry in 1993. The wall behind the armored vehicle reads, “YOU ARE NOW ENTERING FREE

DERRY,” and it was that wall that I aimed my camera at. It is interesting to note that the passengers in the vehicle shown are British soldiers, while the driver is RUC. This evidence seems to support the claim by my nationalist informants, that the British troops and the RUC (predominantly Protestant membership) work in unison. For this and other reasons, nationalists have concluded that the British are in Northern Ireland to support the cause of the Protestant population.

Figures 1.16 and 1.17 contain photographs of British Army barracks. The first one is from the Monaghan/Armagh border, taken from a safe distance. This, and similar bases spaced at regular intervals along the border, are not located at border crossings, and are only accessible by helicopter. The second army base photograph was taken from a doorstep in the New Lodge, Belfast. It sits atop an apartment complex at the edge of the New Lodge, and the rooftop serves as a landing pad for helicopters. The presence of this base is a constant reminder to local residents that they are being watched. My New Lodge hosts informed me that we were also being photographed and listened to by this base, and they often angrily yelled insults up at the structure, when passing by after an evening in the pub.

The coastal towns, such as that shown in Figure 1.18 of Portrush, are not the only peaceful cultural landscapes found in Northern Ireland. There are pockets of such landscapes in towns and cities, such as the Queen’s University campus in Belfast, in parks and shopping districts, and much of the rural landscape is serene. In fact, in terms of acreage, most of the Northern Irish cultural landscape is quite peaceful. Figure 1.18 was included as a contrast to contentious ideological landscapes in Northern Ireland.

The Figure 2.20 photograph was taken in the Sandy Row neighborhood of Belfast just prior to the 12<sup>th</sup> of July parade. As is the custom, curbs and streetlamps are painted each year

before this parade, and remain painted throughout the year. Also prior to the parade, an arch and red, white, and blue bunting (British Flag colors) are hung across the street along the parade route. Orange parade arches are created by the community, utilizing a multitude of symbols, like many of those found on local murals and parade banners. According to Santino (2001), the Orange parade arch idea is probably descended from old European arches, such as the Arc de Triomphe in Paris. In the distant past, Catholics were often forced to walk through such arches as a form of ritual humiliation (Santino 2001). The Orange parade arch is therefore symbolic of territorial victory.

While many leave flags hanging year round, many more hang them for the parade. The photograph shows both British (Figure 5.52) and Northern Ireland flags hanging in front of businesses along this commercial route through the neighborhood. The defunct (since 1973) flag of Northern Ireland (Figure 5.53) consists of a white background with the Cross of Saint George overlying. A star with six points, representing the six counties, is located on the center of the cross. The Red Hand of Ulster is located in the center of the star, with the British Crown above that ([www.crwflags.com](http://www.crwflags.com)).

The 11<sup>th</sup> of July bonfire tradition is similar to that of pre-Christian Celtic rituals (Santino 2001). Figure 2.21 shows preparations for the 11<sup>th</sup> night Sandy Row bonfire, which is located just outside of the neighborhood. Young boys from the neighborhood gather combustibles and create a structure, which is then guarded against raids by rival youths. The most impressive display brings pride to the community. These bonfires traditionally contain Irish flags and effigies of the Pope, which are ritually burned on the 11<sup>th</sup>. Therefore, the bonfire is symbolic of anti-Catholicism and is considered dangerous for Catholics to be around (Santino 2001).



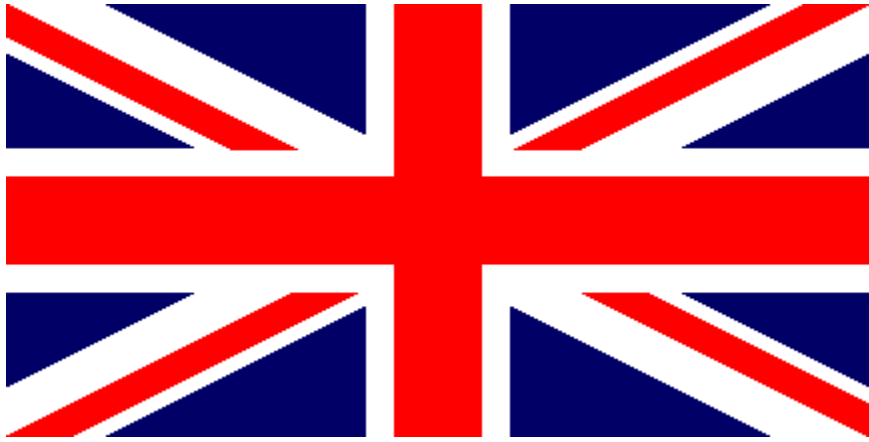


Figure 5.52: British Flag ([www.crwflags.com](http://www.crwflags.com))



Figure 5.53: Flag of Northern Ireland ([www.crwflags.com](http://www.crwflags.com))

Figure 2.22 contains a notice for a “National Resistance Day” march and rally that was held in Belfast on August 11, 1993. The notice was located on a wall along a well-traveled road, at the edge of the Bogside in Derry, and indicated that busing would be provided for any local residents who wished to attend. Above the text, a green, white, and orange Easter lily, with the date, 1916, was painted as a reminder of the Easter Rising. It can be assumed that this march and rally were considered to be a continuation of the struggle, but that it would be a peaceful demonstration (thus the inclusion of the lily symbol). This was the same march, mentioned in Chapter 2, in which nationalists were first allowed to parade through Belfast City Centre. Figures 2.23 through 2.25 contain photographs of that march.

The photograph (Figure 2.23) taken at the beginning of the march, far from the city center, contains a drum and pipe band from Newry. The band members are wearing green, and at the center of the band, one member carries a large drum decorated with an Irish flag (Figure 5.54) and Gaelic words. Band members march in file in nationalist parades, while the remainder of the marchers tend to casually stroll in large groups. This contrasts with Orange parades, where all marchers tend to march (or walk) in uniform lines. Closer to the city center, Figure 2.24 shows a banner with the words, “Nationalist Rights, Freedom, Justice, Peace,” and a drawing of wrists bound in chains, suggesting that nationalists have long suffered a lack of said rights, and have lived their lives as if in chains. Starry Plough flags are also visible in the photograph, as is a very large crowd, and members of local television crews. The RUC was present in force at this parade, with armored vehicles lining the streets where the parade passed Protestant neighborhoods, such as in Figure 2.25. Also visible is a small crowd of spectators mingling with RUC, while one local man holds a large British flag.

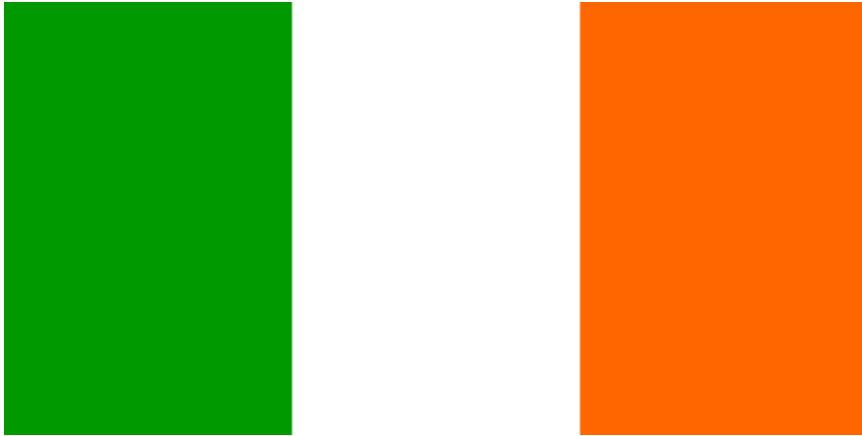


Figure 5.54: Irish Flag ([www.crwflags.com](http://www.crwflags.com))

The mural shown in the Figure 2.26 photograph contains a series of portraits of the 13 civilians killed by British soldiers on “Bloody Sunday”. The authors most likely included the phrase, “The day innocence died,” as a reminder that the civilians killed were unarmed, and therefore innocent. The portraits personalize the event for local residents of Derry, since many of them know one or more of the victims. The mural was painted on the side of a building of flats on the edge of the Bogside in Derry, and was highly visible along a well-traveled road. As with other murals that feature victims of violence, this mural is brings about both feelings of loss and anger for that loss, serves as a reminder of an important event in local history, and perpetuates mistrust between nationalists and security forces.

The Catholic Garvaghy area is shown in Figures 3.28 through 3.33. The Obins Street tunnel (Figures 3.28 and 3.33) contains a corrugated metal barricade stretched across the street, which only allows access to pedestrians in single-file. Armed British soldiers are stationed at the barricade, and pedestrians are forced to brush past them. “UVF” and “IRA” graffiti marks the bridge above the entrance to the tunnel, on the town center side. This is the boundary between Catholic and Protestant Portadown. Within the Garvaghy area (Figures 3.29-3.31), are Irish flags hanging from telephone and flagpoles. The graffiti pictured in Figure 3.32 (“INLAGirls Óglach [Volunteers]” and “Disband the RUC”) is written on a wall along the park at the southern end of the Garvaghy Road. Judging from the lettering and the paints used, I assume that the wall was marked on two different occasions. The smiley-face painted inside the “Ó” is ironic, since the messages are somewhat harsh: the INLA patrols here; and the RUC should not be patrolling here. The intended viewers are anyone who traverses (including marchers) the Garvaghy Road.

Figures 3.34 through 3.36 contain photographs of Protestant Portadown. British flags hang from street lamps in a non-residential area within the town center, but not part of the parade

route. Figures 3.35 (residential) and 3.36 (Town Centre) are part of the parade route, and are decorated with bunting, British and Northern Irish flags, and painted curbs and street lamps (the latter, Figure 3.35 only). This parade route décor is in marked contrast to the lack of décor found along the Coleraine Orange parade route (Figures 4.41-4.43). As with the Sandy Row neighborhood of Belfast, the bunting is present only for the parade, while the flags and painted curbs and lamps remain year round, marking this area as unionist/loyalist.

While much of Coleraine is not territorially marked, there are two neighborhoods that contain curb and lamp painting, such as the Figure 4.37 neighborhood. The other painted neighborhood is that nearest the Orange Hall. Although not visible in the photograph, numerous British flags hang from the homes in this neighborhood. The overwhelming majority of neighborhoods in Coleraine contain no such markings, while a few have random British or Northern Irish flags throughout, such as those pictured in Figures 4.48 and 4.49. Both of these neighborhoods are mixed, and I know from living in one of them, that neighborhood relations are friendly.

The term, “lads”, is used in reference to males, young and old, in Northern Ireland. Figure 4.39 was taken on the 12<sup>th</sup> morning as Gloria and I made our way to the bridge to watch the parade. The lads pictured were happy and excited about the event, and stopped and chatted with us for a time. They were dressed for marching, in suit and tie, and were making their way to the Orange Hall for final preparations. I was struck by the fact that this was a happy family event in Coleraine, without any anxiety or tension. This parade reminded me of the Football Homecoming, New Years, Memorial Day, and July 4<sup>th</sup> parades I had attended as a child in small town U.S.A., minus the floats and farm machinery.

The painting of William III, located above the door to the Coleraine Orange Hall (Figure 4.40), is not a true mural; it is too small to be viewed from the road, and is a permanent decoration that designates the purpose of the building, much like a sign above a shop door would do. True murals in Northern Ireland, as I have viewed them, are very large, temporary, and have no immediate connection with the structures they are painted on. Likewise, Coleraine residents do not consider this decoration a mural. The arch, also pictured in Figure 4.40, is located at the entrance to the Orange Hall, and contains several symbols related to William III, British Royalty, and religion. Decorated in red, white, and blue paint, the arch also contains a figure of William III on his horse, the date, 1690, a royal crown, Christian crosses, a winged angel with trumpet, candles, ladders (for reaching heaven), miniature Battle of the Somme monuments, and the Red Hand of Ulster. A Protestant Church flying the British flag is pictured in Figure 4.47. This church is located across the street from the Orange Hall, and is the venue for the Boyne service that is held the Sunday prior the 12<sup>th</sup> march. Bunting at the Orange Hall is visible in the background of this photograph.

Segments of the 1997 Coleraine Orange parade are pictured in Figures 4.41 through 4.43. The photographs were taken as the parade re-traced its route at the west side of the River Bann bridge, on its way back to the Orange Hall. The parade route, except for that directly in front of the Orange Hall, is not decorated with red, white, and blue bunting, and is almost entirely void of flags. William III on his horse, the “Good Shepherd” (Jesus), and Orange Lodge banners are shown in the photographs. Each lodge participating in the parade, which included the Coleraine Lodge, as well as several from neighboring towns, carried banners displaying the name of their town and their Orange Lodge number. Those pictured in Figures 4.42 and 4.43 are from Ballinteer, Loyal Order Lodge (L.O.L.) No. 4, and Ballyrashan, L.O.L. No. 431, respectively. All

march participants, whether Orangemen or band members, walked, rather than marched, in orderly single file, although the children marching were somewhat disorderly.

Threatening graffiti can be found in Coleraine, such as that found in Figures 4.44 through 4.46. The photograph in Figure 4.44 was taken on Lower Captain Street, near the bottom of the street. This is the same mixed neighborhood that I lived in (Figure 4.44), and the one the lads walked down on the morning of the parade (Figure 4.39). The message, “IRA,” is painted on the side of an empty building, and tells passers by that IRA supporters, if not members, exist in Coleraine. The graffiti in Figure 4.45 was found in the Coleraine Rose Garden. Located above a covered park bench, it is very much out-of-the-way. In order to see this graffiti, you must sit on the bench and look up. The message, “Portadown Orangemen will walk the Garvaghy Rd” and “UVF [plus other initials and names],” indicates that some residents of Coleraine support the UVF, are sympathetic to Portadown Orangemen, and might possibly come to their aid. Also in an obscure location, the graffiti pictured in Figure 4.46 was located on a wall along a back pedestrian-only entrance to the cemetery. It warns that, “Davy McClements is under sentence of death. UVF”. This is a highly personal warning, as it is given to a particular individual, yet it also warns others not to behave as McClements has done.

Each of the photographs contained in this document tell a story about the creation of cultural landscapes in Northern Ireland, and an indication of how people might react to such messages in the landscape. Many of them are contradictory, particularly those of Coleraine; neighborhoods are largely mixed and unmarked, as is the majority of the parade route, yet threatening messages are present, although largely in less-traveled spaces. The next section contains an examination of the ethnographic data collected from Portadown and Coleraine, in an



attempt to decode the ways in which these residents speak of their towns, their relationships with others, and the political situation in Northern Ireland.

### Ethnographic Text

The bulk of the ethnographic data contained in this document was obtained through tape-recorded interviews, except for the conversations at the bar. All taped interviews were prearranged, and were conducted in private homes. On no occasion was any discussion taped without consent. The recorder was placed at the sideline, on the arm of a chair, or the edge of a table, in plain view of interviewees. All persons present were included in the discussions, and the names of each informant were changed to protect their privacy. A complete transcription, including all verbal and gesticular responses, of all taped interviews was compiled using the guidelines of The Tape-Recorded Interview, by E.D. Ives (1990). This document does not contain the complete record; it only contains completely transcribed sections that were deemed pertinent to this study.

Ethnographic data collected spontaneously, such as the discussions in bars and in the streets, were hand-written in a notebook. When possible, conversations were written down as they took place, and when that method was not possible, I either waited for an opportunity to record them, or excused myself to do so. Everyone that I spoke to in Coleraine and Portadown knew that I was a student conducting research in their communities, either because I told them, or the person who introduced us told them. Therefore the presence of a notebook, while making some uncomfortable, did not surprise them much.

The term, “trouble,” was frequently used by my informants, in reference to political and sectarian violence in Northern Ireland. Rather than calling it “violence,” which would necessitate an admission of the seriousness of the situation, the word “trouble” distances them from the

issues surrounding violent incidents. This is not to suggest that people refused to speak of such issues, however I had to introduce such topics, and often push for answers and comments. The topic of violence made people uncomfortable, and their introduction produced hesitation, fidgeting, and loss of eye contact. Kenny almost always responded, even though he too was often uncomfortable with the subject introduced. He inadvertently brought up the subject of how crime is handled in Coleraine, "...a confidential telephone call is made," and then became very cautious and vague in describing this process. Not only was he not going to mention names, but he was somewhat fearful, and didn't want to bring "trouble" to himself. In addition, the process is secretive, as I have had similar account told to me by other residents throughout Northern Ireland. If you know a paramilitary, you whisper in their ear, otherwise you spread the word, and it is eventually heard by the right person.

"Trouble" should not be confused with the commonly used words, "problems" and "bother". The term, "problem," refers to domestic crime, property damage, theft, sexual assault or harassment, and other standard crimes not related to political issues. "Bother" can mean the same thing as "problem," although it can also mean the same thing as "trouble," yet of a less-violent type of "trouble." "Bother" comes from people who would verbally harass you (or paint threatening graffiti around town), but not physically harm you.

My Coleraine and Portadown informants further distance themselves from the conflict by referring to paramilitaries and their supporters as "others." They use the phrases, "these people," "us" and "them," and "hard men" or "hardliners," which suggests their un-involvement with such "elements." Neil also uses such phrases as a way of separating the community into the two rival groups. However, I learned that many of my informants (Coleraine and Portadown) had relatives who had been members of the UVF. The phrase, "bad people," refers to criminals,

rather than paramilitaries. Distancing is also achieved when Coleraine informants deny that any trouble begins in their town, but rather comes from other places, such as Belfast and Derry.

Therefore, anyone who has moved to Coleraine from such a place is highly suspect, although Kenny did admit that most of them moved to escape trouble. Kenny uses percentages to describe those who do and do not want bother, in Coleraine and in Belfast, rather than describing whom these people might be.

Gloria uses the phrase, “good people” in describing her Roman Catholic friends from childhood, whom she rarely sees anymore. This partly due to the fact that she no longer lives in the same neighborhood, and partly because her attitudes may have undergone a change since the troubles came home to her in 1969. I got the impression that she would like to be what she terms, “mixed denomination” in her community relationships, but finds this difficult. Her attitude toward Catholics changes with her mood; Sean is one day, “a good critter,” and the next day, “a feinian bastard”. Yet she is always happy to see him and treats him with respect. As is the case throughout Northern Ireland, religious affiliation is used to ascribe (and assume) political affiliation. Thus, even though Sean does not consider himself to be a republican, Gloria assumes as much. I never heard Kenny utter a disparaging word about Catholics, or assume them to be of one particular political view, and he has maintained long and fruitful relationships with his Catholic schoolmates. He often used the words, “we,” “us,” and “Irish,” to encompass all of the Northern Irish, yet the ethnographic data contained in this document consists of a small percentage of that gathered. Neil assumes that his Catholic childhood friends have become political in adulthood, and in Portadown, such mixing is frowned upon. The Jewish population in Coleraine is less than 1% (PPRU 2002), and the Jewish religion was carefully chosen by the un-

named mixed couple in the bar as a safe way to deny themselves designation to one of the conflicted groups (protestant or Catholic).

Gloria and Neil both contradict themselves when responding to discussions about their ethnic or national identity. Gloria responds with, “British,” when the question is official, or might otherwise suggest political ideology, and “Irish,” when the question is considered friendly. Neil considers himself “Irish,” or at least allows me to refer to him as such, when parade day is long off, yet during the month of July, he corrects me, and refers to himself as “British,” and remains silent when I question his identity as a British person. Therefore, depending on the context (such as the date), each of them responds in a certain way to the same question.

It is apparent, when comparing the ethnographic data of Catholics in Portadown, with that of every other informant from both towns, that Portadown Catholics are much more outspoken about social divisions in Northern Ireland. They tend to avoid much of the code that other informants used; they would say “violence” instead of the obscure term “trouble.” Similarly, while they do use such words as, “us and them,” they are much more exact about who “they” are and are not. It would appear that Portadown Catholics see no advantage to avoiding issues, and in fact, prefer to meet them head on.

\*       \*       \*

A few comments must be made concerning methodological issues that I encountered during the course of this study. As previously mentioned, gaining the trust of residents in Northern Ireland can be difficult and sometimes dangerous, as there is a high degree of suspicion, and access to the other side in this conflict situation is extremely limited. People in Northern Ireland do not regard any person, including a graduate student doing research, as uninvolved or objective. And to some extent, they are correct: We all form opinions about the

issues that we study. However, what we do with our findings, and how we protect individuals who participate in said research, should be the main concern.

In highly contentious areas of Northern Ireland, one must be ‘introduced’ to people by someone who is a trusted member of the community. In addition, it is often not possible to travel back and forth between the opposing sides in a small town such as that of Portadown. It would be very difficult to do this in such a large city as Belfast, although perhaps not impossible if one were extremely careful. My introduction into Portadown involved the Protestant community, and I was never trusted to the extent that I had relationships with very many members of that group, nor could I push informants too far during interviews. The implications of this are such that I had to depend upon the ethnographic research of others to get much of the information I needed. Although a more detailed and tailored ethnographic study of Portadown would have been preferable, luckily, a closely related ethnographic study in Portadown has been done (see Caldwell 2001), and the Garvaghy Road Residents Coalition has collected stories and diaries from the area (see Garvaghy Residents 1999).

#### Portadown/Coleraine Comparison

Several comparisons can be drawn between the two communities of Coleraine and Portadown. They are somewhat similar in terms of percent Protestant population, with both having a Protestant majority. However the Protestant majority is 15% higher in Portadown. Table 5.6 shows comparisons of the two towns in terms of segregation, landscape ideology, and Orange parade descriptions. Segregation in Coleraine is almost non-existent, whereas Portadown is highly segregated. Much of the political landscape ideology found in Coleraine consists of a scattering of flags, graffiti, and curbstone/street lamp painting. Some few neighborhoods in Coleraine appear to be Protestant, with British flags and painting, yet Catholics also reside there.

Portadown, however, shows a strict boundary between Catholic and Protestant, and one only need look for the signs to determine who resides there.

Likewise, parade events in each town show similarities, especially with regard to costume, tunes played by the bands, flags and banners carried, and band instruments used. Yet in Portadown, where parades are highly contentious, the numbers of participants and spectators are larger, marchers are aggressive, and a community spirit that encompasses all, Protestant and Catholic, is absent. One community, that of Portadown, suffers from a serious sectarian divide, while that of Coleraine does not. Orange parades in Portadown serve to maintain that divide, while asserting the rights of Protestants over Catholics there. While the Orange parade held in Coleraine celebrates much of the same sentiments as Orange parades elsewhere, it does not do this at the expense of Catholics in the town.

Table 5.6: Comparison of Coleraine and Portadown, Northern Ireland

	<u>Coleraine</u>	<u>Portadown</u>
<u>Population</u>	Mixed Protestant and Catholic Protestant majority 30/70	Mixed Protestant and Catholic Protestant majority 45/55
<u>Neighborhoods</u>	Little segregation No barricades	Highly segregated Some Catholic neighborhoods barricaded
<u>Landscape Ideology</u>	Some Irish, British and Unionist flags flown on homes and churches  British Painted curbs and street lamps in some neighborhoods  Some violent graffiti	British, Ulster and Irish Flags flown on homes British flags, banners and bunting on streets and businesses  Irish and British curbs and street lamps painted  Much violent and political graffiti

(Table Con't.)

	No Murals	Political & historical Murals
<u>Parades</u>	Non-violent Orange parades	Violent Orange parades with participants & protestors converging from all over NI
	No parade related casualties or injuries	Parade related casualties & injuries (see Table 4)
	No security presence	Heavy security presence with neighborhood barricades

In terms of geography, Coleraine is located much further away from areas that have traditionally suffered more political violence. The map of violence in Northern Ireland (Figure 5.55) shows that political violence is concentrated in the two largest cities of Belfast and Derry, and also in more rural areas with increasing proximity to the border between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. Thus it is not surprising that residents of Coleraine have grown up knowing little about the troubles, whereas in Portadown, the troubles have always been apparent. Likewise it should not be surprising that the two towns differ greatly in numbers of fatalities suffered in relation to the troubles.

Tables 5.7 and 5.8 show a listing of deaths between 1969 and 1993, the circumstances behind them, and the status of each person killed, associated with the troubles in Coleraine and Portadown. Unfortunately, the Portadown (Table 5.8) list does not include those killed since Sutton (1994) compiled the information. There have been no subsequent deaths in Coleraine. In or near Portadown 38 people have been killed between 1969 and 1993, while in Coleraine 12 people have died. Of the Coleraine fatalities, six died due to the 1973 car bombing, and

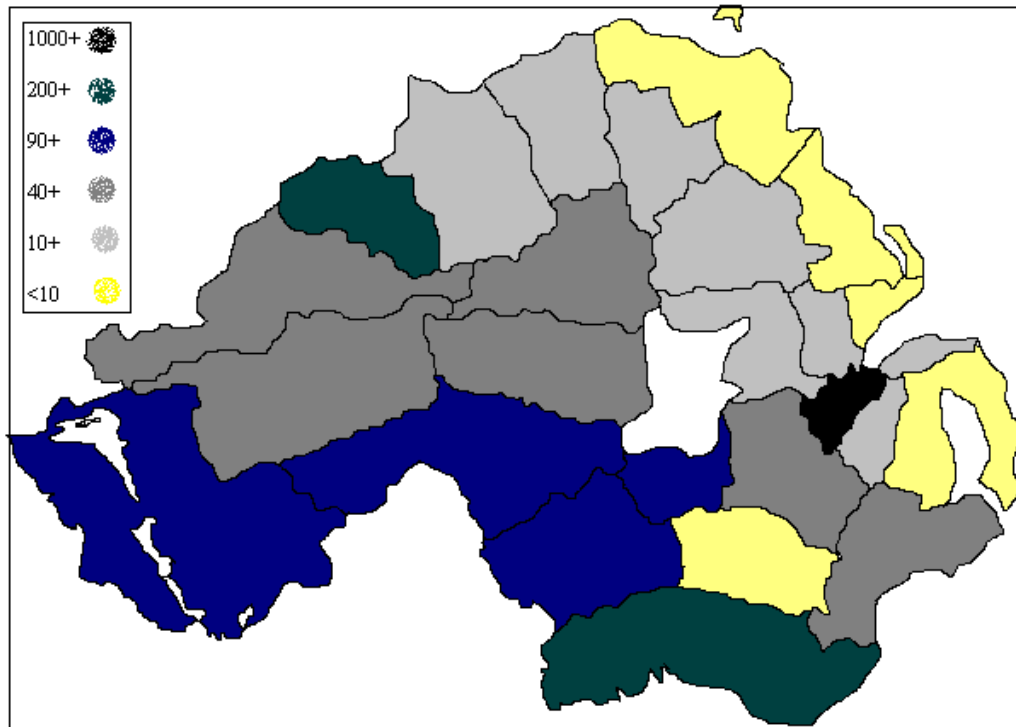


Figure 5.55: Fatalities suffered from the troubles 1968-1998 (Statistical source: Fay, Morrissey and Smyth 1999).



another four died as a result of a premature explosion in 1975. These two incidents alone account for the majority of fatalities associated with the troubles in Coleraine.

The Portadown fatality listing is somewhat different. The overwhelming majority of fatalities have been the result of isolated incidents, and the victims were deliberately targeted, rather than the randomness of the victims found in Coleraine. This would seem to support the opinions of informants in Coleraine, who claim that, while the troubles have visited them in the past, for the most part the town is safe and trouble free.

Table 5.7: Deaths attributed to the Irish Conflict in or near Coleraine (Sutton 1994)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name and Age</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Killed by</u>	<u>Circumstances</u>
06/12/73	Francis Campbell 70	Civ (P)	IRA	Car bomb
	Dinah Campbell 72	Civ (P)	IRA	Car bomb
	Elizabeth Craigmile 76	Civ (P)	IRA	Car bomb
	Nan Davis 60	Civ (P)	IRA	Car bomb
	Robert Scott 72	Civ (P)	IRA	Car bomb
	Elizabeth Palmer 60	Civ (P)	IRA	Car bomb
02/24/75	Brendan Doherty 23	Civ (C)	UVF	Shot
10/02/75	Samuel Swanson 28	UVF	UVF	Premature explosion
	Mark Dodd 17	UVF	UVF	Premature explosion
	Robert Freeman 17	UVF	UVF	Premature explosion
	Aubrey Reid 25	UVF	UVF	Premature explosion
08/10/88	Samuel Patton 33	UVF	UVF	Shot

Table 5.8: Deaths attributed to the Irish Conflict in or near Portadown (Sutton 1994)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name and Age</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Killed by</u>	<u>Circumstances</u>
07/12/72	Paul Beatie 19	Civ (P)	REP	Shot
	Jack McCabe 48	Civ (C)	LOY	Shot
	William Cochrane 53	Civ (P)	LOY	Shot
08/03/72	Felix Hughes 35	Civ (C)	UFF	Beaten
08/31/72	Eamon McMahon 19	Civ (C)	LOY	Beaten
				(Table Con't.)

09/05/72	Victor Smyth 54	UDR		Car bomb, Off duty
10/04/72	Patrick Connolly 23	Civ (C)	LOY	Hand grenade
08/17/73	Trevor Holland 36	Civ (P)	REP	Shot
04/16/74	Joseph Neill 25	UVF	UVF	Premature explosion
10/27/74	Anthony Duffy 18	Civ (C)	UVF	Shot
03/06/75	Edward Clayton 27	Civ (P)	REP	Booby trap bomb
04/01/75	Dorothy Trainor 52	Civ (C)	LOY	Shot
04/03/75	Martin McVeigh 22	Civ (C)	LOY	Shot
04/25/75	Samuel Johnston 33	Civ (P)	REP	Shot
10/14/75	Andrew Baird 37	RUC	IRA	Booby trap bomb
12/14/75	Ronald Trainor 17	Civ (PA)	LOY	Bomb
01/25/76	Samuel Neill 29	Civ (P)	UVF	Shot
02/07/76	Thomas Rafferty 14	Civ (C)	INLA	Booby trap bomb
09/18/76	Albert Craig 33	RUC	IRA	Shot
10/11/76	Peter Woolsey 39	Civ (C)	UVF	Shot
10/13/76	William Corrigan 41	Civ (P)	IRA	Shot
	Leslie Corrigan 19	Civ (P)	IRA	Shot
12/15/76	Norman Campbell 19	RUC	IRA	Shot
12/29/76	James Liggett 67	Civ (P)	PRA	Shot
06/19/77	Robert Whitten 73	Civ (P)	INLA	Shot
03/08/78	Thomas Trainor 29	INLA	RHC	Shot
	Denis Kelly 31	Civ (C)	RHC	Shot
03/13/79	Robert McNally 20	UDR	INLA	Booby trap bomb, Off duty
04/22/79	Martin McConville 25	Civ (C)	LOY	Beaten
07/27/79	James Wright 48	ex RUC	INLA	Booby trap bomb
07/28/79	James McCann 20	Civ (C)	UVF	Shot
10/10/80	James Hewitt 48	UDR	IRA	Booby trap bomb, Off duty
09/20/83	John Truckle 61	ex UDR	IRA	Booby trap bomb
04/14/86	Keith White 20	Civ (P)	RUC	Plastic bullet
12/13/88	John Corry 31	Civ (P)	IRA	Shot
03/04/92	James Gray 39	Civ (C)	UVF	Shot
03/29/92	Terence McConville 43	Civ (C)	UVF	Shot
11/19/92	Ian Warnock 27	RIR	IRA	Shot, Off duty

The cultural landscapes created by residents of Portadown contain ideological symbolism that reflect and reinforce their political views. This ideological symbolism in the cultural

landscape can be read as a text, which informs us that residents of particular neighborhoods consider themselves either Irish or British/Ulstermen and women. Furthermore, the textual landscape informs Portadown residents of whether or not they are welcome in a particular neighborhood, as territories are clearly marked with graffiti, bunting, and curb/lamp painting, and the presence of security forces reminds citizens that the threat of violence is prevalent. The cultural landscape of Portadown can be interpreted as a show of socio-cultural division within the community; Garvaghy area Catholics have come together to claim space (the Garvaghy area), and to warn others that trespass will not be tolerated, while Portadown Protestants claim space (their neighborhoods, as well as the Town Centre), and attempt to trespass into the Catholic Garvaghy area. Parade contention in Portadown is not simply a fight over the right to parade, but rather a struggle for territory and power: those who can claim the right to use, or the right to refuse usage of the parade route, are perceived as the most powerful, and thus politically legitimate.

In Coleraine, the creation of cultural landscapes that reflect contesting political ideologies appears to be the work of a few residents, with the exception of parading. Residents find meaning in the landscape that reflects a community divided by political ideology, and they speak of this division in terms of religious affiliation, between Protestant and Catholic, or “us” and “them.” Yet, though tensions do exist in the community, most people manage to refrain from violent behavior, and maintain meaningful, or at least cordial relationships with ‘others.’ In comparison with Portadown, the cultural landscape of Coleraine can be read as being less divided, and though residents admit to a division, most do not feel the need to express this in the landscape, with the exception of parading. The Coleraine July 12<sup>th</sup> parade is attended by many,

including some Catholics, and it appears that the tension surrounding parading, particularly on the eve of the parade, revolves around parade disputes elsewhere, such as that in Portadown.

The level of segregation in each community appears to be a key issue, yet when Portadown was less segregated, and community relations were better, there was still a high level of violence in the town, and Catholics suffered from discrimination and feelings of inferiority. Segregation gave them solidarity and the ability to organize as a geographically isolated community, whereas before, they were too scattered to organize. When people feel respected as a community, such as being consulted on parade routing, they are tolerant of another community parading their ideology through their shared space. On the other hand, when a community feels disregarded and disrespected, they are intolerant of another community parading through space that is not shared. Thus, as Garvaghy residents Teresa and Joanna suggested (Chapter 3), the future of parading in Portadown depends upon mutual respect and understanding.

Residents create ideological landscapes that divide Northern Ireland into two distinct communities – Protestant/unionist/loyalist and Catholic/nationalist/republican. This ideological landscape reinforces that division, by creating spatial separations, and reminding residents of their history, loyalties, and goals. Residents read and interpret these messages, and negotiate and recreate a divided ideological landscape. The political ideology led to this symbolic cultural landscape creation, and residents of Northern Ireland are not unaware of this, however this landscape perpetuates socio-cultural divisions, making the attainment of peace that much more difficult. Whitewashing the cultural landscape is not a solution, however. Perhaps communities could be encouraged to create their landscapes, such as murals, that contain a mixture of symbols and ideas that would bring the divided communities together.

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## APPENDIX

### CONTENTIOUS PARADES AND MARCHING SEASON

The following is a list of the main geographical areas in Northern Ireland where parades and marches have proven to be contentious.

#### Bellaghy

Bellaghy is a small village south of Derry that is 97% Nationalist. Each year in August tensions rise when the Apprentice Boys from neighboring villages parade through the village on their return from the main Derry Apprentice Boys parade. Local residents claim that the bands deliberately provoke Nationalist residents.

#### Bogside

The Bogside is an exclusively Nationalist and Catholic area of Derry, which lies beyond the city walls. Each year the Apprentice Boys parade around the city walls on the Saturday nearest the 12<sup>th</sup> of August. Since the city walls overlook the Bogside, this parade has long been a contentious issue. In 1969 it caused the 'battle of the Bogside', in which rioting erupted when the Apprentice Boys jeered and taunted Catholics at the Bogside as they walked around the city walls. It was this event which led to the mobilization of British troops in Northern Ireland.

#### Drumcree

The Garvaghy Road is a predominantly Nationalist area of Portadown, where Loyal Orders attempt to march through every July. Local residents formed the Garvaghy Road Residents' Association (GRRA) in an attempt to prevent these parades from marching along their road without their consent. The problems at Drumcree cause serious

rioting throughout Northern Ireland and have resulted in loss of life, injuries, and damage to property.

### Dunloy

Dunloy is a small, almost exclusively, Nationalist village in North Antrim, near Ballymoney. Tensions rise in Dunloy in August as the Apprentice Boys prepare for their annual celebrations. The Apprentice Boys parade along the Main Street before leaving by bus for the main parade in Derry. The residents of Dunloy feel they are under siege during these preparations.

On 10 August 1996, residents from Dunloy held a peaceful protest before the Apprentice Boys were due to parade through. The Apprentice Boys then had to leave for Derry without parading through the Dunloy. That evening they and 1,500 supporters from other areas attempted to parade through the village on their return from Derry. The Dunloy Residents Group agreed to allow the 40 local members, access to the Orange Hall, but without any bands. The Apprentice Boys thought this arrangement unacceptable. The RUC prevented the march and violent confrontations between Apprentice Boys and the RUC ensued.

### Newtownbutler

Newtownbutler, is a small border town in County Fermanagh, and like other contentious areas, is also predominantly Nationalist. Problems arise in this town when the Royal Black Institution want their 'traditional' parades to pass along the village main street and Nationalists hold counter-demonstrations.

### Ormeau Road

The Ormeau Road is a main road in South Belfast that is predominantly Nationalist. The main reason for contention in this area is that each year Ballynafeigh Orange Lodge uses the road for feeder marches to main parades. The situation has worsened since February 1992 when the loyalist UFF shot five Catholic men on the lower Ormeau Road. The following July marchers chanted and jeered as they passed the area, which caused feelings of anger and resentment among the Nationalist population and a determination that the sectarian parades should not be allowed to go through that area. The events on the Lower Ormeau Road led to rioting and automobile hijacking in other Nationalist areas of Belfast.

\*       \*       \*

The following list highlights only the main events held throughout the Loyal Order "Marching Season", which is the period between Easter Monday and the end of September. It is important to note however, that smaller church parades are held all year round.

### Easter Monday

Apprentice Boys Parade.

### Easter Tuesday

Junior Orange Order's Belfast and South Antrim Lodges hold their annual parade.

### End of April, Sunday Afternoon

Charity Service in the Ulster Hall attended by the Belfast Orange Lodges.



### Middle of May

Scottish Apprentice Boys annual parade.

### End of May

Annual parade held by Junior Orangemen from Armagh, South Tyrone and Fermanagh.

### First Friday in June

First Orange Mini-Twelfth Parade in North Belfast.

### First Saturday in June

Annual parade of the Belfast Branch Club of Apprentice Boys.

### Second Saturday in June

King William's Landing is commemorated in Carrickfergus, Portadown District

Orangemen hold Mini-Twelfth Parade.

### Third Weekend in June

Mini-Twelfth Parade in North Belfast.

### Fourth Weekend in June

Mini-Twelfth Parades in West Belfast, and the Sixmilewater District of South Antrim.

### 1 July

Anniversary of the beginning of the battle of the Somme. Church parades and wreath laying ceremonies are held on this day and the nearest Sunday throughout Northern Ireland.

### First Wednesday in July (after Somme parades)

Mini-Twelfth Parade in Belfast's Ballynafeigh District.

#### Saturday Before 12th July

Orange parades held in Rosnowlagh, County Donegal (in the Republic of Ireland), and a number of venues in Scotland.

#### Sunday Before 12th July

Boyne anniversary church service is held at different venues across the Northern Ireland.

#### 12th July

Nineteen main parades are held at different venues across Northern Ireland. This day marks both the highlight of the marching season, and also the end of it for the Orange Order.

#### 13th July

First major Royal Black Institution parades at Scarva and Bangor in County Down.

#### Beginning of August

Annual church parades are held by some of the District Black Preceptories.

#### Saturday nearest 12th August

Apprentice Boys parade through Derry to celebrate the 'Relief of Derry'. Black Preceptories from County Fermanagh parade to commemorate the Battle of Newtownbutler.

#### Last 2 weeks in August

Black Preceptories parades are held in South and East Belfast.

#### Last Saturday in August

Black Preceptories parades are held in Counties Antrim, Down, Derry, and East and West

Tyrone. Belfast County preceptories alternate their parade between a venue in County Down and County Antrim.

#### Month of September

Band parades continue throughout this month, although the last Saturday formally marks the end of the commemorative 'Marching Season'.

#### Last Sunday in October

Reformation Day Services: This is the last official Orange Institution Parade of the year. In Belfast, all of the Orange Districts independently parade to Saint Anne's Cathedral for the Service.

#### 11 November

A number of local bands hold short parades to local memorials to celebrate Armistice Day.

#### Saturday nearest 18 December

Final Parade of the year held to mark the anniversary of the Closing of the Gates of Derry in 1688. A ritual burning of an effigy of Lundy takes place in late afternoon.

## VITA

Deborah Miller received her Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Toledo in 1994 majoring in anthropology, where she developed an interest in research on Northern Ireland. She received her Master of Arts in 1996 majoring in geography, at which time her thesis research focused on gendered landscapes in Ireland and Northern Ireland. At Louisiana State University Ms. Miller continued her research in Northern Ireland, with a focus on comparisons between peaceful and contentious Northern Irish landscapes. In addition, she conducted research on feminist geography, and on both Louisiana and Ohio waterways and river clean-up efforts. Ms. Miller has taught several courses at Louisiana State University and Southeastern Louisiana University, and has presented her research at numerous professional conferences. She will receive the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Louisiana State University at the Spring 2004 Commencement.